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THE SOUL OF A NATION

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THE FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA AND
THE PROJECTION OF NEW ENGLAND

BY

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

M.A., LITT.D.

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A



To the memory of

SIR EDWIN SANDYS

*founder-in-chief of representative govern-
ment in America and active proponent of
the repatriation of his fellow-Englishmen
exiled in the Netherlands*

PRAEMONITION TO THE READER *

IN rambling through a private collection of incunabula and other rare volumes the author of the following pages happened upon a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* "Englished" at Jamestown in 1621 and "imprinted" in London in 1626. Since to his knowledge no American history course had mentioned so early a colonial product, it was natural to regard the book as a hoax. Comparatively simple research in English literature, however, disclosed that Michael Drayton had contemporaneously wished *bon voyage* to a fellow-poet, "Whose numbers" would soon in "Virginia flow"; and that Dryden had warmly praised the rendering thus made by George Sandys, scholar, "urbane traveller," and the first treasurer of Virginia.

The surprise of this chance discovery led to years of intermittent effort in locating, collating, and evaluating new, old, and neglected material on American beginnings, the result of which is here presented. The material includes a great variety of items brought to light from time to time through widely scattered and often obscurely published contributions by individuals, by societies, and by archivists not only in America and Great Britain but also in other countries. In addition, there were numerous invaluable documents found in the Spanish Archives; and supplementary to these hundreds of items, other hundreds have been made available through the publications of the Library of Congress.

Special studies of the careers of Elizabethan Britons show the identity of many of the projectors of New World colonization with the initiators of British influence and trade in the Orient. Although these expansions were contemporaneous, the motives behind them were distinctly different, a difference that calls for renewed attention, although it was noted contemporaneously by sundry writers and later commented upon not only by Thomas Jefferson but also by Jefferson's contemporary, Jeremy Belknap,

* Cf. William Strachey's Foreword to *Travaile into Virginia*, 1612.

historian of New Hampshire. In short, the Oriental adventures were wholly commercial in scope and execution, while the settlements begun in the Western Hemisphere were first maintained by men who envisioned the extension of the English church and realm, the spread of representative government, and the conversion of the aborigines, for whom at considerable outlay they planned free schools and a college, albeit the pioneers in charge of this idealistic effort were slain by the proposed beneficiaries.

The need for a fresh appraisal of American beginnings was especially emphasized when the Historical Society of the State of Maine published, almost on the tercentenary of its conception, the long-lost "Discourse on Western Planting" prepared for Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt. Herein this geographer and churchman outlined the "principal and primary" aims which inspired the liberal statesmen of the Virginia-London Company to support the Virginia settlement and which led them, in due time, to encourage the migration to America of the Separatist exiles in the Netherlands, thereby creating sundry happy associations between the projectors of Jamestown and the founders of Plymouth.

Illustrative of even more recent findings is a lexicographer's accidental discovery of evidence concerning the "lost colony" at Roanoke Island. In this instance, as Professor Randolph G. Adams points out, it took the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Raleigh venture definitely to identify Governor John White as the artist who portrayed American flora and fauna in paintings which "outclass any other effort at artistic portrayal of the New World by a colonial of any nation before the eighteenth century."

Separate acknowledgments of aid in locating and evaluating material would entail an examination of correspondence covering a quarter of a century. After the chapter drafts got under way, a number of historians passed upon various portions. Some read all of it, notably Professors Charles H. Ambler, Charles A. Beard, and Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Following, however, the customary declaration of absolution, the author releases these generous reviewers from complicity in errors either of commission or omission.

The author is likewise grateful to specialists without the immediate field of history, whose interest and patience in following

the evidence led to new conclusions on sundry subjects. Epidemiologists, for example, compared old and new source material to determine the causes of the extraordinary mortality among the early colonists. Similarly, Shakespearean scholars re-examined their own rich findings in the light of long-unlisted colonial records, which have served further to illustrate Shakespeare's associations with the projectors of Raleigh's "new nation" overseas.

It is especially appropriate that this presentation should have been determined upon within the walls of *Virginia House*, Richmond, the gracious home of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, which in its English avatar was historic Warwick Priory. This transplanting is America's gain without being England's loss; for, by the timely interposition of its rescuers, the ancient edifice was saved from demolition in the Old World, to be raised in the New as a material and spiritual link between Britain and her eldest daughter-commonwealth.

M. P. A.

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THE SOUL OF A NATION

It is the office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment.

—FRANCIS BACON

Chapter I

ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT

THE twelfth of October, 1492, acclaims the New World landfall of Christopher Columbus and the beginning of Spanish expansion in South America. Historically important, also, is the twenty-fourth of June, 1497, when John Cabot came upon the coast of North America and laid the basis for English claims to the continent that Columbus was not destined to see.

Although there ensued an interval of almost a century between Cabot's discovery and English attempts at settlement, interest in the Western Hemisphere was kept alive by voice and voyaging. As early as 1509, references to regions yet to be explored appeared in Alexander Barclay's translation of Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*.¹ Another allusion, accompanied by ardent recommendations for English colonization, appeared about 1517 in the *Interlude of the Four Elements* by John Rastell, lawyer, printer, and a brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More.² In 1555, however, Richard Eden's translation of the *Decades of the neue Worlde or West India* eclipsed all previous publications in stimulating popular imagination. This rendition of early Portuguese and Spanish narratives of adventure and exploration was dedicated to their Majesties Philip and Mary, rulers of England, France, Ireland, Spain, Jerusalem, Naples, Sicily, Austria, Milan, Burgundy, and Flanders, not to mention sundry other countries in which Philip claimed authority.*

RICHARD HAKLUYT, "TRUMPET" FOR AMERICA

As Eden was working upon these translations of books of travel, a child was born of whom the eighteenth-century Scottish historian, William Robertson, wrote that to him England was "more

* Eden dedicated a translation of Sebastian Munster's *Treatyse of the Newe India* to "the right hyge and mighty Prince, the Duke of Northumberland," whose grandson, George Percy, was to be one of the pioneers at Jamestown.

indebted" for her American colonies "than to any man of that age."³ This child was Richard Hakluyt, the greatest English geographer of the Elizabethan epoch, and one of the most influential of all time. Since Hakluyt personifies the beginnings of British colonization, it is proper that his name should be forever identified with the genesis of the United States. His study of numerous records of explorations, voyages, and New World settlements fired his imagination and led him not only into an exposition of the claims to America laid by Cabot, but also to urge the prospect of making these territorial claims secure through settlement.⁴

Shortly after William Robertson had thus paid tribute to Hakluyt, the thirteen American colonies established their independence; and Britain lost interest in the work of her great geographer, while the young American republic, busy with its affairs, ignored him. Now, however, after centuries of neglect, it is highly desirable to honor his memory and present in some detail the career of the man who merits primary recognition in early American annals.

In preparation for his lifework, Hakluyt examined all available material concerning overseas trade and travel; and in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, published in 1582, he lamented:

I marvaille not a little . . . that since the first discoverie of America . . . after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portingales there, that wee of Englande could never have the grace to set fast footing on such fertill and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed.

In thus referring to English failure, the author of *Divers Voyages* may be said to have forecast what he himself was to inspire in ultimate achievement; for it has been well said that:

The history of Elizabethan expansion is to a great extent the work of Richard Hakluyt. He preserved a mass of material that would otherwise have perished, and he handled it with an enthusiasm and common sense which have made his work live through the centuries . . . in the main, Hakluyt's perspective from the sixteenth century is that which the twentieth century is rediscovering.⁵

For a better appreciation today of the man who, in modern parlance, may be said to have "sold" the idea of North American colonization to his countrymen, it should be noted that his most timely contribution towards Anglo-American settlement was first passed from hand to hand in manuscript, thereafter to remain neglected in private archives for three centuries lacking seven years. In short, his history-making *Discourse on Western Planting* did not see the light in public print until 1877, when it was issued in America under the auspices of the Historical Society of the State of Maine.⁶

Hakluyt's life was coincident with the Elizabethan epoch that marked, on the one hand, the beginnings of the decline of Spanish domination and, on the other, the rise of England as a power to be reckoned with in Europe and America. In this shifting of influence, the absolutism which was exemplified by the rulers of Spain was to yield precedence to the political concepts developed by the Anglo-Celtic genius for self-government. During this era, Richard Hakluyt made, as well as wrote, history. Born in the middle of the sixteenth century, he died in 1616, the year that marked the passing of Shakespeare, and two years before the execution of Raleigh. Completely identified with the Elizabethan epoch, Hakluyt fired the vital spark of religious purpose that played a compelling part in American colonization when England was swayed by the strong convictions of the Protestant political and religious revolution culminating in the Puritan upheaval. In fact, the popular conception of Hakluyt as a clergyman seems to have acted as a deterrent in recognizing his political genius, albeit, in the days when church and state were joined, the principal roles of many churchmen were cast in civil affairs. As prebendary in the "fourth stall," at Westminster, Hakluyt was far beneath the ecclesiastical or the temporal eminence of Wolsey or Richelieu, yet one may venture to say that neither of these great figures contributed services as permanently important in influencing the future. We may, therefore, forget the comparatively humble position which provided him a livelihood; and, if we judge the career of a man by the results of his labors, he has as historian and history-maker no superior in both capacities.

It is of especial interest to note that Richard Hakluyt issued his

collection of "voyages" the year following the defeat of the Invincible Armada, which had been fitted out with the sole purpose of destroying England as the principal, if not the only, obstacle in the way of Spanish control of the Atlantic Ocean and of the Western Hemisphere. His life as a student at Oxford and his subsequent career as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador to France, is unimportant beside the fact that in Paris the practical idealist was able to gratify his ambition to gather information on the New World through French, Portuguese, and Spanish sources. This sojourn on the continent from 1583 to 1588 was indispensable in enabling him at a comparatively early age to become the leading English authority on world geography; and it was from Paris that Hakluyt came when he presented to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers his *Discourse on Western Planting*, which embodied not only the principal reasons for colonization used for several decades until American settlement was definitely established, but also provided arguments which could not very well be made public for fear of an immediate attack by Spain on the one hand and anticipatory action by France on the other.*

Hakluyt's argument for "western planting" may be divided into three categories: religious, political, and economic. Of these the religious motive was assigned first place and was frequently reverted to in other connections throughout the *Discourse*. First of all, it was argued that colonization would make for "the enlargement of the gospel of Christ," including the conversion and civilization of the Indians.†

Second in order of presentation were political or nationalistic reasons: That settlement in the Western Hemisphere "will be a great bridle to the Indies of the king of Spain" and a means by

* Hakluyt published appeals for English colonization by Sir George Peckham and Christopher Carleill. Peckham's essay warrants especial attention as that of a Roman Catholic who stood in well-deserved favor with Secretary Walsingham. His plea for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, regardless of sectarian division, may be compared with a like appeal subsequently made by Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

† Hakluyt lamented that he had not heard of a single "infidel" converted by the English *explorers*, among whom he mentioned Frobisher, Drake, and Fenton. In looking forward to success through English colonization, he suggested that if certain ministers should be busily engaged in the New World, they would have no time or opportunity for the "coyning of newe opynions" in the Old. (The orthography in quotations from the *Discourse* is partly modernized.)

which "we may arrest at our pleasure for the space of ten weeks or three months every year" the Spanish fishing fleets; and that it will offset the "mischief" of the wealth derived from South America, which had so enriched the Spanish treasury that Spanish ducats not only subsidized battalions of troops but also forwarded Spanish affairs by bribery where arms had failed. Besides advancing the argument that colonization "may bring king Philip from his throne, and make him equal to the Prince's neighbors," Hakluyt—doubtless through Raleigh's experienced prompting—appealed to the Queen's acquisitive instincts by listing the names of rich towns in the Spanish possessions, with the islands, havens, and forts and the "commodities" of these lands. Over and above the argument for reducing the Spanish menace to England through giving Philip competition in America, Hakluyt held that "speedy planting in divers fit places" was "most necessary upon those lucky [*sic*] western discoveries," for fear of being forestalled by "other nations which have the like intentions."⁷

The economic or commercial reasons for colonization were both negative and positive, to wit: that English tradings eastward "are grown beggarly or dangerous, especially in all the king of Spain's dominions"—whereas by means of western colonization, "the revenues and customs of her Majesty both outwards and inwards, shall mightily be enlarged," thereby leading to "the manifold employment of numbers of idle men." He declared that western planting would extend and increase the English stock; and that America will "yield unto us all the commodities of Europe, Africa, and Asia," whilst its people will consume the manufactured products of the mother country. As England was looking chiefly to her ships for protection against Spanish invasion, Hakluyt asserted that the proposed planting would work "for the increase, maintenance and safety of our navy . . . which is the strength of our realm, and for the support of all those occupations that depend upon the same"; and that by means of the proposed colonies the Northwest Passage to China "may easily, quickly, and perfectly be searched out, as well by river and overland as by sea."⁸

Apparently we are justified in assuming that Hakluyt's plea for colonization impressed Elizabeth favorably. The "Discourse" was

presented in September, 1583, and shortly thereafter Raleigh had not only received permission to equip and send out an exploring expedition but had also received a patent to a palatinate in Elizabethan Virginia bounded by a sweeping circle having a diameter stretching inland six hundred miles from the projected point of settlement, which today, as reckoned from Roanoke Island, would include all or parts of twenty-one States with part of Canada.*

From this time on Raleigh had two great objectives—the diminution of the Spanish menace to England and the development of American colonization. Unhappily, his career as a courtier has tended to obscure his services in behalf of New World “planting,” together with his important role in the offensive-defense of insular England. In pursuance of his ambition to extend the bounds of British dominion, his activities are chiefly identified with the physical failure of the most notable of the Anglo-American efforts of the sixteenth century. Never was a man more fortunate in his rise to fame, and none more unfortunate when fortune turned her face aside. “In the minds of his contemporaries,” writes a biographer, “no one took rank with him as the patron of exploration. Of all men none were more fitted to judge his services in this direction than Richard Hakluyt, who as author, editor, and propagandist did more than any other man or score of men to waken Englishmen to what he was assured was their true destiny.”⁹

Raleigh’s association with North American colonization illustrates the more romantic or idealistic side of his nature, free from certain weaknesses that showed themselves in some of his personal affairs. In brief summation, Lord Bryce wrote of him: “Blameless he was not; but the blameless are seldom the most attractive. Scrupulous he was not, but the word unscrupulous, like its pale sister Opportunism, is used to cover some very different things. The man and his career are fit to be commemorated in the center

* In all references to the forty-eight political entities constituting the Federal Union the text follows the approved usage of the United States Printing Office in the matter of capitalization. Our federated structure has been described as “an indissoluble Union of indestructible States.” The Supreme Court, in recording the above expression, correctly capitalized *States*, as it continues to do whenever the Court or the United States Government refers to one of these units of the Federal Union or any group of them. The proper noun *State*, meaning one of the United States, is rightly distinguished from the common noun *state*, meaning status, as also the word *states* used as a synonym for governments or political powers in general.

of the British dominions as well as in the vast region then known as Virginia." *

After Hakluyt addressed his "Discourse" to her Majesty, Raleigh acted on his royal patent dated March 25, 1584, the first of the year, old style.¹⁰ Without waiting for legalization by Parliament, he dispatched two vessels under command of Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to report on the country and recommend a site for settlement. After a voyage of three months, a landing was effected in July on the shores of what became known as Roanoke Island, some forty miles southwest of Cape Hatteras.

The natives first encountered were friendly; and Captain Barlow's report of the country he called "Wingandacoa" presents perhaps the most engagingly simple intercourse between English and Indians on record, in which we find the story of the first meeting with a native, who, with two others, paddled out from the mainland. This single Indian approached along the island shore with trustful confidence; and after being entertained on board ship, he "departed," apparently for home; but "As soon as he was two bow-shot in the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnacle."

The next day a delegation of "naturals" visited the Englishmen, out of which meeting came profitable trade; and the English became acquainted with Indian customs and traits, among which was the sign of welcome by touch and their love of long and not-to-be-interrupted speeches from the mat that served as a forum. The English already knew of the value set by the savages upon trinkets, and they traded these for furs and skins. It is at this point

* Viscount Bryce, "World History, the Annual Raleigh Lecture," reprint (Oxford, 1919), p. 3, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. IX.

The spelling *Raleigh* accords with Sir Walter's own preference, to the exclusion of variations he had employed prior to the grant of his Virginia patent. According to William Stebbing, the spelling *Raleigh* happens to be one he is not known to have used. Stebbing records seventy-four variations. Two Spanish variants not recorded by Stebbing are *Vataralas* and *Watwales*, as seen in letters from Don Pedro de Zuniga to Philip III, July 5 and November 23, 1609. In addition, there is perhaps another variant in Hakluyt's title page to his *Discourse on Western Planting*, the MS. facsimile giving a version which may be read *Rayhly*, or *Raghly*.

that we get the first account of the Indian women, following the writer's reference to the leading werowance:

His wife was very well favored, of mean stature, and very bashful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same. About her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times. In her ears she had bracelets of pearl hanging down on her middle. . . .

The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear and some of the children of the king's brother and other noblemen, have five or six in either ear.

Of a visit to the town of Granganimeo (King Wingina's brother) Barlow wrote:

When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side the wife of Granganimeo, the King's brother, came running out to meet us, very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billows. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. . . .

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like furmentie, sodden venison, and roasted fish sodden, boiled and roasted, melons raw, and sodden, roots of divers kinds and divers fruits. . . .

While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but, as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again.

When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat's side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore.

Two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, were taken to England as guests of the English; and Captain Barlow reported that "a more kind and loving people cannot be found in the world," to which,

however, he added the observation, "as far as we have hitherto had trial." ¹¹

With respect to hospitality or hostility on the part of the natives, various explorers brought back contradictory reports, which may have been due to differences in the disposition of individual Indians, or of groups of them. As it turned out, Wanchese and Manteo themselves furnish excellent examples of this variance. Wanchese turned violently against the English, while Manteo, always friendly, was the first native American to receive a title; *viz.*, Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuc. In his attitude towards the English he was the predecessor of Navirans and Chanco at Jamestown.

NAMING OF VIRGINIA

On the return to England of the trial expedition, Barlow reported that, "The King is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty, Virginia," a name that was adopted by Hakluyt and others to apply to an indefinite region, described as continental in extent not only in Elizabeth's reign, but in that of James I.*

Raleigh was now granted new monopolies, by means of which he was able to equip seven vessels, with above a hundred settlers on board prepared to begin the colonization of his palatinate with its six-hundred-mile radius from the first settlement therein.

The fleet was under the supreme command of Sir Richard Grenville, destined in his last fight to face the greatest odds known to seafaring history, when with a single vessel he attacked a Spanish fleet of fifty-three.

Raleigh had sought to provide for every contingency, not only with respect to the pioneers, but on behalf of those who were to follow. In order to secure data on America for the British people, he sent out with the colony Thomas Hariot, mathematician, scientist, and the inventor of algebraic signs still in use, who is credited with making "the last great discovery in the pure science of algebra by arriving at a theory of the genesis of equations." ¹² Accompanying Hariot was an artist, John White, to whom we owe ex-

* See map, p. 10.

"England's Northerne Pole" — Samuel Purchas



VIRGINIA VETUSTISSIMA

This outline of Elizabethan Virginia is based largely on the Hakluyt-Molineux map of 1599, which in turn was based on the first English globe of 1592.¹

In 1584 Elizabeth gave to English New World claims the name of "Virginia," simultaneously granting Sir Walter Raleigh a palatinate therein which would today embrace the whole of eleven States in the Union and parts of ten others, together with a portion of modern Canada.²

In 1609 Richard Hakluyt encouraged the extension of French settlements in northern Virginia, or Canada, within the bounds of the original Anglo-Cabot claims which Hakluyt had described as reaching at least to the "Circle articke."³ At the request of Hakluyt, part of Marc Lescarbot's *Nova Francia* was translated by Pierre Erondelle and published in London as a description of that part of New France "which is one continent with Virginia." *Nova Francia* was dedicated "To the Bright Starre of the North, Henry Prince of Great Britaine." The prince, then heir apparent, came to be known as the royal patron of Virginia, and the dedication eulogizes the prince in thus furthering "the noble undertaking . . . to plant Christianitie in Virginia."⁴ It does not appear, however, that this proposal involved abandonment of English sovereignty for these northern regions; for example, Hakluyt's literary executive, Samuel Purchas, as late as 1624, referred to "England's Northerne Pole";⁵ and Captain Edward Hayes, in his "Treatise" on the Gosnold expedition to northern Virginia in 1602, considered the French claim invalid, not only because of the Cabot discovery but also because of the French failure to inhabit there; and he declared the intention of the Gosnold expedition to plant English settlements in that region.⁶

That Elizabethan Virginia was regarded as being continental in extent is shown by a number of references. In 1585 Ralph Lane, Raleigh's deputy-governor in Virginia, wrote, "The continent is of an huge and unknown greatnesse . . . If Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe, being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it."⁷ Similarly, at Jamestown in 1615, Ralph Hamor, colonial secretary, wrote, "Such a main continent as is Virginia, boundlesse, for ought we have discovered."⁸ "The continent of Virginia" was a term used by members of the London Company;⁹ and the phrase, "the coast of Virginia or America," occurs in the patent of the London-Plymouth Companies in 1606.

A later reference to continental Virginia occurs in the royal patent granted Captain John Martin in 1616, wherein the "said Capt. John Martin his heirs Exors. and Assigns shall and may have free Trafick in the Bay and Rivers in that part of the Continent of Virginia which to us doth appertain."¹⁰

The Raleigh grant of a semi-circle 600 miles in diameter from Roanoke Island overlapped Spanish settlements in Florida. This overlapping would have required an adjustment had Raleigh's Colony been successful, for both Elizabeth and her successor sought to avoid conflict with Spain by sanctioning English colonization only in territory not "actually possessed of any Christian prince."

[For notes relating to the above see page 363.]

cellent drawings of the pursuits, habits, and customs of the North American Indians. Also with the colony was Thomas Glover, described as an "ingenious surgeon." Last of the group of leaders representing special skills was Thomas Cavendish, who became, after Drake, the second English mariner to circumnavigate the globe. Others of a scientific bent were the "mineral men" mentioned in Hariot's *Report*; and in a letter from Lane to Walsingham, reference is made to the "apothecaries . . . of this her majesty's new Kingdom of Virginia."¹³ The chief political and military or naval figures were Deputy Governor Ralph Lane, second cousin of the surviving Queen of Henry VIII; Philip Amadas, who bore the title of "Admiral of the country"; and John Arundel. In addition, "some were captains, and other some assistants for counsel and good direction in the voyage." *

INLAND EXPEDITIONS

After a winter's lull, the first spring season found the colony very active, during which period Deputy Governor Lane frustrated two Indian conspiracies. Forcing the fighting, he captured one hostile chief and killed the second. Lane has been accused of being unnecessarily harsh in matters of reprisal visited upon offending tribes; but secret attack and attempted extermination of their enemies was the custom of the natives; and, at times, Lane was proceeding by urgent advices advanced by Indian allies of the English, who had, in rival tribes, foes in common.†

* Serious antagonisms arose from mutual misunderstandings due to differences in customs or ethics—difficulties that were to have counterparts in the experience of other colonies. By way of illustration, it may be noted that in England a thief was punished with death, while with the Indians stealing was customary. At Roanoke Island a cup was stolen; yet the savage charged with "imbizzling" it doubtless thought the procedure merely a bit of superior cleverness. Not so the English, however, who demanded that the culprit be apprehended and punished. As late as 1854 the theft of a "lame cow" from Mormons crossing the plains of Nebraska territory, followed by demands for the delivery of the guilty Indian, led to the wiping out of a detachment of white soldiers and active warfare with the Sioux Indians. Cf. *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, XX, 259 et seq.

† "Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by a sudden surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtle devises. Set battles are very rare except it fall out where there are many trees, where either party may have some hope of defense, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other."¹⁴

Hakluyt has happily preserved for us Lane's narrative of the first extended inland expeditions undertaken by Englishmen who had in mind occupation of the country. Exploration was made from Roanoke Island "into the South, in the North, into the Northwest, and into the West." For fixity of purpose, courage, and endurance this little-known story is one worthy of commemoration in American history. Lane's journey in the spring of 1586 was northward to the Chesapeake at about the present site of Norfolk. He later estimated that the entire journey, through sounds, streams, and shallows, extended "about one hundred and thirty miles." His account told of "great woods of sassafras and walnut trees not to be excelled . . . besides multitudes of bears (being an excellent good victual)." ¹⁵ There were several Indian tribes with "sundry kings whom they call Weroances." To the northwest Lane discovered Passaquenoke, which he called "the woman's town" since an Indian woman was its ruler. One weroance named Menatonon was held by Lane as prisoner or hostage. Albeit "impotent in his limbs," Menatonon received credit for extraordinary intelligence, Lane reporting that he "gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with." Some of this information was interpreted in terms of pearls unlimited, Menatonon giving Lane "a rope" of pearls which have been described as "black, and naught, yet many of them were very great," and some brilliantly colored. The great white pearls, said the weroance, were found in the deep waters of the Great Bay.

On his trip up the Roanoke river, Lane encountered his greatest difficulties and came upon imminent danger of the destruction that befell the later settlers. Upon hearing of a great conspiracy among the inland tribes, which he was told could muster six thousand warriors, he advanced boldly into their country, where he seized Menatonon with his son Skyco.* The Indians had already learned that while the whites seemed invincible when arrows were pitted against armor and firearms, they were not invulnerable to

* Lane assured himself of Menatonon's aid by holding the weroance's "best loved son prisoner who should have kept me company in a handlock with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage overland."—*Ibid.*, pp. 322-324.

starvation; consequently, they retreated into the woods, with their families and food, in what was the Indian equivalent of that which has come to be known as the "scorched earth" policy. Thereupon, the English found themselves with "but two days' victual left" and "one hundred and sixty miles from home" [Roanoke Island]. Calling together his company at sunset "before the putting forth of sentinels," Lane freely laid the case before his men, and left it to them to decide by a majority of voices whether they would proceed with the expedition or return immediately to the fish weirs of the now deserted Woman's Town. The character of this small company of Englishmen corresponded with the courage of their commander; for after deliberating that night, they decided, almost unanimously, "that while there was left but one-half pint of corn for a man" they would go forward, living if need be by the "pottage" of the two English mastiffs they had with them.¹⁶

The decision so reached offers, apparently, the first instance of a popular vote by Englishmen on American soil. Lane's comment upon the result indicates a natural shrewdness touched by a sense of humor. "This resolution of theirs," he wrote, "did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although, for mistrust of that which afterward did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion."¹⁷

It was no wonder that Lane privately congratulated himself upon the fact that the company made the decision, for nothing was gained by the further penetration of the wilderness except a fierce attack by Indians first pretending friendship, which must have been fatal but for Manteo's timely warning. Manteo, knowing the native signals for battle, broke off a prospective parley and "betook him to his piece," from which we may assume that this Indian ally had been instructed in the use of firearms.

Lane was successful in bringing his men back to the spot he called "home," but the dogs were "pottaged" with sassafras leaves; and at the last the company lived on sassafras only, "the like whereof for a meat was never used before, as I think." *

On Lane's return from this expedition, after he and all his com-

* The qualifying expression "as I think" is rare among contemporary narratives and gives all the greater credibility to this narrator and inspires confidence in his character.

pany were supposed dead, the Indians revived the belief that the English "do not remain dead but for a certain time," and then "return again." From this it may be inferred that the efforts of Lane and his companions in explaining the doctrine of the Resurrection had an unexpected effect in saving the colonists from an Indian plot; for, immediately before the reappearance of the Englishmen, the savages had, "contrary to their former reverend opinion of the Almighty God of heaven and Jesus Christ . . . begun to blaspheme."

ATTACKS AND COUNTERATTACKS

The colonists regained their former prestige when it became known that Menatonon had commanded Okisco, King of Weapomeick, to yield himself "homager to the great Weroanza of England." Thereupon the Indians planted corn and "gave" the English "ground to sow."¹⁸ Ensinore, the father of Wingina or Pemisapan, was friendly to the English, but upon Ensinore's death at this season, his son, under pretext of memorial mourning, planned a general massacre of the English. Fortunately, however, Lane's prisoner or hostage, Skyco, revealed the plot to the English.*

Lane countered with deceptions of his own, as he pretended to believe the friendly gestures of the savages. When the Indians "began to make their assembly," Lane "thought good" to make the first visit and with it spring his own surprise. However, the English counterplot was not fully executed because of the savages' suspicions. In Lane's words: Pemisapan "did abide my coming to him, and finding myself amidst seven or eight of his principal weroances and followers, not regarding any of the common sort, I gave the watch-word agreed upon."¹⁹ An Indian ally from the "Chesepians" first shot and wounded Pemisapan; but while Lane was looking out to protect the friends of the convert Manteo, Pemisapan "suddenly started up" only to be shot again "thwart the buttocks by my Irish boy with my petronel." It took, however, another Irishman, "one Nugent," to finish the business. "Him we

* Upon an attempted escape, Lane had laid Skyco in the "bilboes." After threatening to behead the savage, Lane released him and "made much of him," for which kindness Skyco made worthy return.

met," says Lane, "returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand."²⁰

As no supplies had come from England and as the crops had not had time to mature, the colonists were hard pressed for food, especially as many of the natives had refused to trade.²¹ Nevertheless, Governor Lane wrote that he was "better contented to live with fish for my daily food, and water for my daily drink, in the prosecution of such an action, than out of the same to live in the greatest plenty that the Court could give me."²² In view, therefore, of such evident determination to carry on for God and country, which Lane said was shared by a "good company more," the circumstances that led to the abandonment of the colony came with so sudden a series of shocks that the settlers were persuaded that Providence had willed their departure.

THE FIRST COLONY RETURNS TO ENGLAND

While Lane was thus struggling to maintain the Roanoke Island colony, Drake had made his presence felt not only in the West Indies but on both continents of the Western Hemisphere through the "sacking" of San Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine. From St. Augustine he now sailed up the coast to visit his fellow countrymen. Consequently, on the eighth of June, Captain Stafford, the colony's lookout at Croatoan, sent word that he had sighted "a great fleet of three and twenty sails." The colonists prepared to repel a Spanish foe; but their joy knew no bounds as they greeted their national hero. Drake offered to replete their empty larders, but when the supply ship had been loaded, a typical Hatteras tempest broke out. During the storm, which lasted several days, this vessel, "a very proper bark of seventy tons," with some of the settlers on board, sought safety on the open sea, while the captains of sundry other vessels headed home. Facing these conditions, the Governor called a council at which the colonists decided to return to England, the tempest being regarded as expressing the "will of the Lord" for them to depart. Consequently, Drake, with the remaining vessels and all the colonists, set sail the nineteenth of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the twenty-seventh of July.²³

So ended the first chapter in Raleigh's attempt to colonize Virginia. The next event was but an interlude, in which Grenville arrived with new settlers and provisions. On finding the site deserted, Grenville landed some fifteen men "in the isle of Roanoke" in order "to retain possession of the country." Presumably all perished, since they were not again seen by Englishmen.

"THE LOST COLONY"

Having lost a fortune upon his colonization venture,* Raleigh turned over control of his palatinate in Virginia to a council consisting of a governor and twelve assistants, later assigning his interests to a company of nineteen "merchants of London," so-called, of whom Hakluyt, his friend and adviser, was one. To these merchants Raleigh granted free trade privileges for life, while to the thirteen others he assigned powers of government as a corporation called the "Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia," with John White as Governor. Bearing in mind the vice-regal nature of his original patent, Raleigh reserved for himself, possibly as protection for the interests of the crown, a fifth part of the silver and gold that might be found.²⁴

Counting the Grenville group as an effort to reinforce the pioneers, the second attempt at settlement was directed to the region of the Chesapeake Bay, a wise choice which, had it been carried out, might well have culminated in success. For the third time—including the expedition of exploration—the month of April saw an English fleet set sail for the Western Hemisphere. In three vessels these colonists set out from Portsmouth on April 26, twenty years to the day before the landing on Virginia soil of Admiral Newport with his trio of ships bearing the founders of Jamestown.

The first group sent out by Raleigh in 1585, like the colonists subsequently sent out by the London Company in 1607, had been composed solely of men, whose business it was to prepare the

* His personal expenditures in these efforts were estimated at £40,000, the modern equivalent of approximately one million dollars. "All sums of money named during this period must be multiplied by a factor which can perhaps be fairly chosen as five or six to transform them into modern values."—Edward P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*. (New York, 1914) I, 9.

site for future homesteads. In this new Raleigh expedition the first women pioneers were included. With respect to the first colony, the Indians had especially remarked upon the absence of women, while they thought it strange that the English had no concern for the Indian women, possibly contrasting their attitude with that of the Spaniards. As Hariot expressed it: "They noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs."²⁵ For good or ill, it was the first expression in the New World of Anglo-Celtic race purity or prejudice which made for a marked distinction between the Spanish and English settlements. Exceptions there were, from time to time; but, in general, this contrast held good.

Like their predecessors, the company went by the West Indies, and as before, complaint was made of the Portuguese or Spanish pilot, Simon Ferdinando, who, through blundering or design, led the company into sundry delays and difficulties en route. The fatal mistake, however, was made at landing; for, according to the account written by one of the company and preserved by Hakluyt, Governor White took the pinnace and "forty of his best men" to seek at Roanoke Island the group left there the previous year by Grenville. Thereafter, White intended to proceed to the "Bay of the Chesepians" as Raleigh had "in writing" especially charged. Ferdinando, however, claiming the traditional supremacy of command at sea, defied the Governor. After refusing to receive into the pinnace the men who had disembarked, he determined the site of settlement by declaring that he would land all the settlers there and "in no other place."²⁶

Apparently, Raleigh had had no need of employing this professional pilot, for the achievement of an English sailor in guiding the small pinnace on the transatlantic course is one worthy to rescue the name of Edward Spicer from undeserved oblivion; and the story of his voyage may best be given in the words of the contemporary annalist, who wrote that on July 25, 1587, "Our [missing] flyboat and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatarask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company; but the master of our Admiral,* Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their safe-coming, for he purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal and

* The flagship.

stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he had never been in Virginia, would hardly find the place, or else, being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by means of so many [Spanish] men of war, as at that time was abroad, they should merely be taken, or slain.”²⁷

Since the attitude of a considerable group of savages indicated “fear” rather than the “love” for which Hariot had hoped, Manteo called to them in their language, whereupon the Indians threw away their bows and arrows and advanced in show of amity. Some of the natives told of the previous destruction of their corn, and they sought assurance that these Englishmen had not like intent; for they said they had but little food, a point worth noting as illustrating the fact that the “naturals” themselves, experienced as they were in raising their crops, were frequently on short rations before the summer corn had matured.²⁸

By virtue of Manteo’s intercession, the English brought out a matter that caused trouble in nearly all the subsequent settlements. This concerned the difficulty in determining which Indians were friendly and which were hostile. One Indian from a friendly tribe was pointed out who “at that very instant lay lame” from an attack made by the first colonists. On the other hand, it was learned that Wanchese and his following were charged with slaying the fifteen men left at Roanoke the preceding year.²⁹

Two events in August, 1587, are of special interest as establishing precedents in English colonization. One was the christening of Manteo, with his elevation to a Virginia peerage, as the Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuc; the other the birth of a daughter to Ananias Dare and his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Governor White. The child was christened Virginia;³⁰ and although in the contemporary accounts of the Roanoke colony there is no reference to priest or minister, some one present was qualified to perform the rites of baptism.

The earnestness of these Englishmen with respect to beginning the colonization of Virginia is made evident by the amicable yet insistent dispute which arose out of the desirability of having two of the “Assistants” return to England to act as “factors” or agents for the colony. Finding but one “insufficient” person willing to

leave, the planters "came to the Governor White and with one voice requested him to return himself into England for the better or sooner obtaining of supplies and other necessities for them." After many such persuasions, including the prayers of the women, the Governor yielded to their wishes and departed for England August 27.*

White's return to England found the nation engaged in preparation to meet the threat of Spanish invasion. Nevertheless, throughout this period of supreme suspense, the deputy governor of Virginia never ceased to plead the needs of the colony. Raleigh finally succeeded in fitting out and dispatching two ships of supply. The mariners, however, reported only combats with Spaniards, which may have been deliberately sought in the hope of seizing South American treasure-ships on the transatlantic passage.†

Since, by reason of the union, in both Spain and England, of church and state, the political conflict between the two countries was also a clash of creeds, Englishmen who adhered to the Roman Catholic faith were suspect as to their political allegiance. Some Roman Catholics had been found guilty of conspiring against the government, while others who were innocent were put under severe restrictions; but throughout this age of enforced conformity in matters of religious faith, there ran a golden thread of tolerance, in that not a few "recusants" received recognition of their

* The voyage home was delayed by the desire of the mariners to seize Spanish prizes—a lure that more than once played an untoward role in the matter of succoring fellow-countrymen in America. This particular effort was unsuccessful, and it may be of further significance with regard to Simon Ferdinando that the pilot was blamed for the failure.—Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 397-402.

† In 1584, William of Orange had been assassinated through the open offers of reward by Philip II; and several conspiracies designed to overthrow Elizabeth had been exposed, inspired, no doubt, by the same source. "The foreign polity" of the Spanish court under Philip III "remained as it had been established by Philip II. Its maxims were very simple. To do unto your neighbour all possible harm, and to foster the greatness of Spain by sowing discord and maintaining civil war in all other nations, was the fundamental precept. To bribe and corrupt the servants of other potentates, to maintain a regular paid body of adherents in foreign lands, ever ready to engage in schemes of assassination, conspiracy, sedition, and rebellion against the legitimate authority, to make mankind miserable, so far as it was in the power of human force or craft to produce wretchedness, were objects still faithfully pursued."—John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, IV (New York, 1868), 341.

merits and consideration for their services. In this respect, England's foe offered no parallel.

After the lifting of the Spanish menace at home by reason of the defeat of the Armada, Raleigh hoped to recuperate financially by seizing Spanish treasure in South America or on the high seas. Consequently, he granted the right to trade in his Virginia grant to White, Hakluyt, and others. Hakluyt came actively into the scene as an intermediary for White in his earnest efforts to succor the Roanoke settlement; and subsequently it was to Hakluyt that White addressed a long letter describing his final effort in the Virginia venture.³¹ However, at this time it was extremely difficult to raise funds for American colonization. Mariners in particular were frankly contemptuous of those so interested. Finally White reported "three ships absolutely determined" for Virginia at the "special charges" of a merchant of London, John Watts. After a vexatious delay because of governmental embargo, which held up all departing ships, White, through Raleigh's interposition, secured a special license from the queen. Raleigh, furthermore, got an agreement, in consideration of this "releasement," that these ships "should take in and transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furniture and necessities, to be landed in Virginia." As White reported, "That order was not observed . . . but rather [held] in contempt" and "governors, masters, and sailors, regarding very smally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, determined nothing less than [barely] to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seek after purchase [seizure or trade] and spoils, spending so much time therein that summer was spent before we arrived at Virginia."³²

As a climax to White's trials and tribulations, the long-sought landing in Virginia, when finally attained in 1590, was attended by still another Cape Hatteras tempest, compelling the fleet to withdraw with the loss of a ship-boat, anchors and cables, casks of fresh water, and "seven of our chieftest men." The Governor's official account makes no mention of his personal feelings in the hope he had of seeing his daughter, Eleanor, and his grandchild, Virginia Dare. He does tell, however, of lonely marches overland to find the colony—following wearily, where no fresh water was to be had, the smoke of fires which the savages must have set to

lure him on. "We sounded," he wrote, "a trumpet call and many familiar English tunes and songs" to which there was "no answer"—only the silence of the wilderness.³³

Upon the site where three years before he had left the little colony, he found in one place C R O inscribed upon a tree, while at the deserted fort, upon a tree-post five feet from the ground "in fair capital letters," there was written the one word CROATOAN, without, however, the sign of a cross, the agreed-upon signal of distress. Croatoan was the home of Manteo. White planned to go there, but, as above stated, a storm broke out and the mariners were obliged to stand out to sea, abandoning further quest for the colonists by promising, after getting food and water in the West Indies, to return in the following spring, which promise was not fulfilled.

Spanish spoils seized by the ships as they were homeward bound mean nothing now, but we have reason to be grateful over one happy result of the voyage; for White entered the following note:

Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past, by Captain Amadas, where we found five chests, that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust.

This could be no other but the deed of the savages, our enemies at Dasamonquepeuc, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and as soon as they were departed digged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried.³⁴

Fortunately, the savages had not wholly destroyed the contents of White's chests. In these had been placed his water-color paintings, the first illustrations done by an Englishman of Indian life and pursuits and American flora and fauna. "And what pictures they were, in contrast with the crude, grotesque, and often woodcuts which had illustrated the French and Spanish books on America up to that time!"³⁵

With respect to further colonization efforts after White's final voyage, the "Kingdom of Virginia" remained dormant until, in 1602, Raleigh made one more effort to find his lost colony. Of this

voyage little is known save that it set out under the command of Captain Samuel Mace, who gathered various "commodities" along the coast and returned to England after encountering a tempest off Cape Hatteras.³⁶

POST-ROANOKE CONTACTS

Despite death and disaster, interest in Virginia was kept alive by Raleigh, Hakluyt, Hariot, Bartholomew Gilbert, and more particularly by Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who within the next decade became one of the leaders of the Virginia-London Company and a principal supporter of the first permanent settlement.

Among those who made voyages to Virginia was Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who had served under Raleigh. The story of Gosnold's voyage to northern Virginia is presented in John Brereton's *A Briefe and true Relation*, the author being "one of the voyage." Furthermore, Gosnold and his company gave English names to points and places, such as Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. Among the interesting details of his *Relation* is the story of his meeting with five Indians, who greeted him "in a Baske-shallop with mast and saile." Brereton described one of the Indians as being "apparellled with a Wastcoat and breeches of blacke serdge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet."³⁷ This extraordinary circumstance was especially noted as confirming the impression which some of the more commercially-minded promoters of colonization had been endeavoring to create—that the Indians would, when civilized, become customers for "our good English cloth."

Brereton's description of the Indians of northern Virginia afford interesting comparisons and contrasts with those given by White and Hariot:

These people are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seene; so their shape of bodie and lovely favour, I think they excell all the people of America; of stature more higher than we; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Olive; their eie-browes and haire blacke, which they weare long, tied up behinde in knots, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in

fashion of a crownet: some of them are blacke thin bearded; they make beards of the haire of bears: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailers for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they judged to be none of his owne. They are quicke eied, and stedfast in their looks, feareless of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Salvages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evill) may easily excuse. . . . Their women (such as we saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eie-browes, haire, apparell, and maner of wearing, like to the men, fat and very well favoured, and much delighted in our companie; the men are very dutifull towards them.³⁸

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVE

As one of the numerous illustrations of the high regard for the religious motive in the pleas and plans for the colonization of Virginia, there may be cited an excerpt from Hariot's *A brieffe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*—a small volume "directed to the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabiting and planting there." Here we find that this altruistic concept covers over one-fifth of "the earliest printed original book in the English language" on Virginia. These nine pages are devoted to a discussion of the conversion and civilizing of the American savages, the argument being based directly on the author's experience. "Some religion they have already," wrote Hariot, "which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed" and that the native may thereby be "brought to civilitie."³⁹

Continuing, Hariot wrote:

Many times and in every town where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible; that therein was set forth the true and only GOD, and his mighty works, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to

their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their body with it; to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.⁴⁰

Brereton's *Relation* likewise presents the idealistic appeal for American colonization in the following passage, which is headed: "Important inducements for the planting in these parts, and finding a passage that way to the South sea and China." Like Hakluyt's "Discourse," the said "inducements" open with the same arguments, such as:

The voiage which we intend, is to plant Christian people and religion upon the Northwest countreys of America, in places temperat and well agreeing with our constitution, which though the same do lie betweene 40 and 44 degrees of latitude, under the Paralels of Italie and France. . . . These lands were never yet actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, yet often intended to by the French nation, which long sithence had inhabited there, if domesticall warres had not withheld them: notwithstanding the same are the rightfull inheritance of her Maiestie, being first discovered by our nation in the time of king Henrie the seventh, under the conduct of John Cabot and his sonnes: by which title of first discovery, the kings of Portugall and Spaine doe holde and enjoy their ample and rich kingdomes in their Indies East and West.⁴¹

Gabriel Archer, another narrator of the Gosnold voyage, has been singularly neglected in American annals. Since he wrote at some length of this pioneer effort to establish a settlement in northern Virginia and since he was also a pioneer at Jamestown, where he died, he may be called the first resident American historian. Archer begins his narrative with the statement that Captain Bartholomew Gosnold—who also became a Jamestown pioneer—"set sail from Falmouth the day and year above written (1602) accompanied with thirty-two person," of whom eight were "mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest to remain there for population"; *viz.*, to start a settlement. After writing of the sounding and surveys along the coast he describes a meeting with the Indians, as follows:

There came unto us ashore from the main fifty savages, stout and lusty men with their bows and arrows, amongst them there seemed to

be one of authority, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captain Gosnold aboard, and so likewise Captain Gilbert, who almost never went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hasty manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle between the sea and a fresh water; I moved myself towards him seven or eight steps, and clapped my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signify unto them, either a choice of peace or war, whereupon he using me with mine own signs of peace, I stepped forth and embraced him; his company then all sat down in manner like greyhounds upon their heels, with whom my company fell a bartering.⁴²

Two days later:

The seignior * came again with all his troop as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noon, they sat with us and did eat of our bacaleure and mustard, drank of our beer, but the mustard nipping them in their noses they could not endure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith.⁴³

Archer's entire account is marked by honesty and candor. He holds out no extravagant hopes of tropical products or of mines of precious metals. Reference to the latter is comprised in a single sentence: "These Indians call gold *wassador*, which argueth there is thereof in the country."⁴⁴

Since the Gosnold expedition brought back a description of a coast line favorable to ships and shipping, popular interest was renewed; and in 1603 Bristol merchants undertook to equip a vessel, with Captain Martin Pring in command, to explore this portion of Virginia. At about the same time, Bartholomew Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey, in surveying the middle coast, crossed what later became known as the Eastern Shore where he and several of his men, including Chirurgeon Henry Kenton, were slain by the Indians.

In 1605, the Earl of Southampton, in association with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Lord Arundel of Wardour, equipped and sent

* This term may have represented Archer's interpretation of *sachem*.

out a vessel under the command of Captain George Waymouth. Waymouth brought back with him several Indians.⁴⁵ It appears that these, like Wanchese and Manteo, were not only well treated but that they were accorded extraordinary publicity.*

Owing to the fact that many Englishmen saw in American colonization the long-view solution of the struggle with Spain as the dangerously dominant power in Europe, it is appropriate to consider how this rivalry took shape in the New World. With respect to this contest, it appears that the sixteenth century may properly be divided into two parts: The first, a comparatively quiescent period, ended shortly after the publication of Eden's *Decades*. The second began in 1568 with the violation of an agreement and the attack upon Captain John Hawkins in Mexico; it included not only the defeat of the Spanish Armada but also the granting of the first patents looking towards Raleigh's vision of an "English nation" in the Western Hemisphere. As Hawkins and his fellow-commander, Francis Drake, brought back dramatic stories of treacherous attack, national spirit was aroused as never before; and forthwith these two became leaders of a great line of sixteenth-century sea captains fighting for glory, booty, and country. Popular writers have, in recent years, cast a slur upon their services in describing the fighting rovers of the Elizabethan era as "pirates." It is true that they were largely individualists and had no commands in navies as such during most of their career; yet, if the term be properly applied to them, contemporary Spanish, Dutch, French, and Portuguese captains were likewise "pirates," for in distant waters they fought at sight and plundered one another whenever favorable opportunity offered. During much of this transition period, the unwritten rule of the west, whether off the "Spanish Main" or on the "Virginia Ocean," was fight or flight; and of all those who were thus engaged, the term "pirates" was least applicable to the British, since almost from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Englishmen knew that if they did not strike first at sea the Spaniards would be last on land.

Whatever may have been the virtues or vices of the Eliza-

* Some natives were commercially exploited as exhibits, alive or otherwise, which may offer an explanation for Shakespeare's satirical observation on a current characteristic of his countrymen that: "When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."⁴⁶

bethan mariners, they played their part in making the North American claims good and the territory tenable for the Anglo-Celtic * type of colonization which carried with it from England the principles of individual liberty and representative institutions. Yet while the Spanish failed in their attempts to establish permanent settlements north of what is now Florida on the Atlantic coast, the story of these efforts at colonization deserves a place in this narrative. Had any of them succeeded, English settlement might have been abandoned altogether or forced northward into an immediate clash with the Dutch on the Hudson, or the French on the St. Lawrence.

SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO EXTEND FLORIDA

Although the labors and sacrifices of the Jesuit missionaries in America, both French and Spanish, in the cause of religion provide one of the world's marvels, Spanish soldiers and colonists were ruthless in pursuit of their aims in exploiting the natives, be they the Incas of South America, the savages of the West Indies or Montezuma's people in Mexico. From the West Indies and Mexico, the Spaniard soon looked northward; and the establishment of a permanent colony at St. Augustine in 1565 was not the only challenge to England's claims in the North American continent. Besides Spanish descents upon the Atlantic coast, there were serious plans for colonization considerably above the sub-

* While there is no hyphenate satisfactorily descriptive of British stock, the term Anglo-Celtic may well be used as a belated recognition of the contribution of the original Britons, conquered by the invading Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The stolidity and hardness of the Teuton became, on Britain's soil, modified by the emotional and imaginative qualities of the Celt. History seems to show that when these races have harmoniously mingled, government, literature, and the whole social structure have been benefited. The comparatively recent investigations of Thomas Hodgkin point out that the earlier view of the utter extirpation of Britain's Romano-Celtic population by the Teutons is untenable. "No one denies," says this later authority, "that the general framework of society in Anglo-Saxon Britain, like the language, was Teutonic, or that the masters of the land were English and looked upon the Romanised Celts, whom they called *Wealas*, as an alien and inferior race. But, on the other hand, Freeman [Edward A.] himself admits, though reluctantly, that the majority of the British women would be spared to be the wives or concubines of the invaders, and nearly all the slaves to be their thralls. . . . When we thus review the circumstances of the Saxon conquest, and especially when we remember the immense influx of Celtic blood which we have received in later centuries from the Gael and the Erse folk, we may perhaps conclude that we should accept and glory in the term Anglo-Celt, rather than Anglo-Saxon, as the fitting designation of our race." ⁴⁷

sequent limits of Florida. The most important attempt was that of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, who was ready for his colonization venture by the summer of 1526, sailing from the West Indies with six hundred settlers in three caravels. Priests and physicians accompanied the expedition, while the vessels carried Negro slaves and several score horses. After one unsuccessful landing, De Ayllon began a settlement which he called San Miguel de Gualdape. The colonists suffered from disease; and many died, including their leader. Factions arose, and the Indians became bitterly hostile. The settlement was abandoned, and the survivors returned to the West Indies. If, as told by contemporaries, the story of extraordinary cold be true, this would indicate that those authorities who argue that the settlement was within the Chesapeake Bay are correct as against others who favor some point below Cape Hatteras.⁴⁸

Again in 1570 the Spaniards made an attempt to set up a mission under the guidance of Don Pedro Menendez de Avilés. Ascending the Great Bay, they established a Jesuit station on the Rappahannock not far from the present site of Fredericksburg, but the mission was wiped out by Indian massacre. In 1572 Menendez returned and, having captured eight Indians said to have taken part in the massacre, hanged them at the yard-arms of his ship.⁴⁹ That thereafter the Indians of the Chesapeake region maintained a hostile attitude to all whites is indicated by the fate of Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, *supra*, p. 26.

ADDENDA

ENGLISH VS. SPANISH CLAIMS

Despite the Papal division of the Western Hemisphere between Spain and Portugal, the English claim to North America appears to have been noted by Juan de la Cosa, the Spanish cartographer-pilot who accompanied Columbus, for in 1500 La Cosa depicted on his chart of that date the same design or standard off the coast of North America as the one he assigned to England, whereas a wholly different design or standard is shown contiguous to Spain and South America.⁵⁰

Another interpretation is presented in a letter to the author (27 February, 1942), in which Sir Geoffrey Callender, Director of the Maritime Museum at Greenwich, observes that, "Niceties" of flag design "did not trouble Juan de la Cosa who paid no deference to the claims of England outside the Narrow Seas. His territorial standards insinuate that North America was just as much Spanish as South or Central."

On the other hand, support for the view that La Cosa recognized English priorities in the northern part of the western hemisphere is seen in the following notation from Fite and Freeman's *A Book of Old Maps*:⁵¹

The five English standards in the north and the inscriptions, *mar descubierta por yngleses* (sea discovered by the English) and *cavo de ynglaterra* (Cape of England), indicate the explorations of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498. It is believed that La Cosa drew this portion of the coast from Cabot's map, now lost, which Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador at London, sent to King Ferdinand.

In addition, La Cosa's recognition of Cabot's voyages and discoveries is confirmed in letters to the author from Professor Samuel Eliot Morison,⁵² and Professor George Bruner Parks,⁵³ biographers respectively of Columbus and Hakluyt.⁵⁴

INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO

It has long been a popular conception that Raleigh introduced the "stinking fume" complained of by James I in his "Counterblaste to Tobacco,"⁵⁵ but Englishmen knew its use from Spanish-American sources. Raleigh, however, publicized and popularized it, possibly with a view to promoting a product of his palatinate from which the colonists might hope to derive profits and thereby stabilize the Virginia venture. Queen Elizabeth was at least interested and may have tried smoking, since she was reported to have described the weed as "a vegetable of singular strength and power." It was not long before the most absurd claims were made as to its medicinal qualities, some of which are presented by Hariot as follows:

There is an herb which is sowed apart by it self and is called by the inhabitants *uppowoc*: In the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the several places and countries where it groweth and is used: The Spaniards generally call it *Tobacco*. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder: they use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of clay into their stomach and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other gross humors, openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which means the use thereof, not only preserveth the body from obstructions; but also if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous defeats wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted. . . . We our selves during the time we were there used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof; of which the relation would require a volume by it self: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witness.⁵⁶

At a later period, Strachey observed of the Virginia weed "that those Indians which have one, two or more women, take much—but such as yet have no appropriate woman take little or none at all." *

THE POTATO

Tradition has long held that the "Irish potato" (*solanum tuberosum*) was found at Roanoke Island and imported thence into England and Ireland.† Described in a report of the Smithsonian Institution as a "potato by analogy and Irish by adoption," this root was found by the Spaniards in South America, along with

* William Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 114, 122.

" . . . in a short time many men every-where, some for Wantonness, some for Health sake, with insatiable Desire and Greediness sucked in the stinking smoak thereof through an earthen Pipe, which presently they blew out again at their Nostrils."—William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England* (London, 1688), p. 324.

† "The true or original potato is the *Ipomoea batatas*, which we now call the sweet potato, a plant belonging to the Convolvulus or morning-glory family; the Irish potato belongs to the Solanum or nightshade family . . ." The Spanish call it by "its original name," *papas*. Cf. William E. Safford, "The Potato of Romance and Reality," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1925 (Washington, 1926), pp. 509-532.

the true or "sweet" potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). The keenly observant Hariot published a comprehensive list of Virginia plants, but nowhere therein does he mention the potato.

While expounding the nature and origin of the potato, the Smithsonian report, issued in 1925, stated that it was introduced into North America in 1719, "when a colony of Scotch-Irish immigrants established a settlement at Londonderry," New Hampshire.⁵⁷

Over a century before this importation, however, Samuel Purchas had mentioned that "Potatos" had been grown in Bermuda from "two castaway rootes," the increase of which, he wrote, afforded "great reliefe to the Inhabitants."⁵⁸ Apparently, Captain Adams, sailing from England in the *Elizabeth*, had taken the first potatoes to the Bermudas late in 1613.⁵⁹ From there, in the early 1620's at least two shipments of potatoes were sent to Virginia.⁶⁰ It is also recorded that the first settlers at Jamestown planted potatoes in 1607,⁶¹ and Samuel Purchas reported a second planting there in 1612.⁶²

Horace Greeley doubtless helped to confirm the impression that the potato was not known in the Anglo-American colonies until the second decade of the eighteenth century. Greeley wrote that the above-mentioned Londonderry group had left a few tubers in Massachusetts to be cultivated there. The same "were duly tended by those to whom they were left; but the plants being matured, they gathered the seed balls from the stalks and tried to cook them into edibility; but by no boiling, baking, or roasting could they render them palatable."⁶³

That the priority claimed for Londonderry is in error even with respect to New England is indicated by letters found in the *Winthrop Papers*. Thomas Mayhew of Medford, Massachusetts, addressed a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., as early as February 22, 1636, in which he referred to a shipment of potatoes from Bermuda, together with corn, pork, oranges, and lemons.⁶⁴ This, of course, does not prove that these potatoes were planted; but on November 6, 1636, from his home in Saybrook, Lion Gardiner wrote to Winthrop as follows:

I heare that the *Bachelor* is to bringe us provision, I pray you forgett us not when shee [the ship *Bachelor*] comes from the Bermudas with

some potatoes, for heere hath been some Virginians that hath taught us to plant them after another way, and I have put it in practise, and found it good.⁶⁵

Examination of the Bermuda records discloses interesting details of potato growing. When Captain Daniel Tucker, of Virginia, took over the governorship of the Bermudas, he mentioned potatoes among the domestic products of the Islands. His proclamation, issued about 1616, states:

These are to command that no person or persons whatsoever dare to rob any vineyards, public or private, or gather the grapes, figs, plants, or any other growing commodity whatsoever belonging to any one member of this plantation or steal any potatoes or ears of corn growing upon the ground.⁶⁶

Two years later, among the presentments of the Third Assizes, we find the following item: "Richard Towell for stealing one potato, weighing 2 or 3 lbs. or thereabouts value 3d. and carried yt away feloniously, contrarye to the peace of our Sovereigne Lord the King . . . Verdict not guilty."⁶⁷ From this notation almost anything may be inferred; *e.g.*, that potatoes were scarce that season; that people were hungry and prices exorbitant; or that this particular potato of extraordinary size was being held for planting or for exhibition.*

By 1634 potatoes were plentiful in Bermuda, for the Reverend Andrew White, S. J., historian-pioneer of Lord Baltimore's Maryland Palatinate, found the potato growing in such profusion that one might "carry off whole wagon loads of it for nothing."⁶⁸

* For the application of the name potato to *Solanum tuberosum* . . . the responsibility must be charged to John Gerard, who in 1597 figured and described it under the title "Potatoes of Virginia—*Battata Virginiana*"—*Smithsonian Report, op. cit.*, p. 509.

Chapter II

CORPORATE PLANS FOR PLANTING

WITH respect to events in England, the period following the failure of the Roanoke colony to the establishment of a permanent settlement at Jamestown represents an interval during which interest in America was maintained by the various "relations" of transatlantic voyagers, by references to Virginia in Elizabethan literature, and by appeals to religious zeal and the spirit of national adventure.

It was not Raleigh's fault that the mariners he sent out had happened upon a site near waters which were destined to be known as the graveyard of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, it was now clear that colonization must proceed from corporate, rather than individual, effort. On the credit side of these early efforts it may be said that first-hand knowledge of the Indians had been acquired through the reports of Hariot, White, Gosnold, Archer, and others. In some respects, however, the deductions therefrom were misleading; for example, Hariot's optimism long caused the belief to persist that the Virginia savages might readily be induced to "civilite" through conversion to Christianity, so that the English could "inhabit with them" in peace and amity.

THE IDEALISTIC CONCEPT

An interpretation of the early period of English colonization illustrates the maxim that different epochs must be judged by different standards, in accordance with the character of its leaders. The spirit of commercialism dominated the first half of the sixteenth century, and altruistic concepts were subject to ridicule; but out of this materialism came a surge of nationalistic endeavor, political unrest, and the spiritual questionings that accompanied the Reformation. Gradually at first and then with dramatic swiftness, the manifestations of Elizabethan Protestantism passed into

the Puritanism of the Roundhead regime, to be in turn succeeded by the reaction of the Stuart Restoration. In the decades following Cabot's discovery, there had been no Gilberts or Raleighs to arouse public imagination, and a Hakluyt would hardly have been heard. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, we find an entirely different England, as the island nation faced the Spanish threat to her independence, and Englishmen the loss of hard-won liberties. The cynicism of the past persisted, but its manifestations were largely submerged in the spirit of nationalism, accompanied by a missionary zeal for the spread of Anglican Christianity.

The Elizabethan poet, Samuel Daniel, set forth in verse the conflict of views between the older commercialism, on the one side, and the newly aroused spirit of nationalism on the other. He cast an argument between a materialist and an idealist, in which the former ridiculed American colonization as a wasteful effort to subdue a well-nigh worthless wilderness, especially at a time when the nation's hope for wealth lay in extending England's trade with Europe and Asia. In rebuttal, the idealist set forth a vision which, in its fulfillment, has no equal in modern history. The realist is represented by the practical, present-minded *Philocosmos*, who scoffs at England's island limitations and lack of influence, crying:

Is this the walke of all your wide renowne,
This little Point, this scarce discerned Ile,
Thrust from the world, with whom our speech unknowne
Made never any traffike of our Stile? . . .
Publike societie and commerce of men
Require another grace, another port;
This Eloquence, these Rymes, these Phrases then,
Begot in shades, doe serve us in no sort;
Th'unmaterial swelling of your Pen
Touch not the spirit that action doth import.

To this, *Musophilus*; the idealist, replied:

. . . Who, in time, knowes whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gaine of our best glory shall be sent
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?

What worlds in th'yet unformed Occident
 May come refin'd with th'accents that are ours?
 Or, who can tell for what great worke in hand
 The greatnesse of our stile is now ordain'd?
 What powrs it shall bring in, what spirits command,
 What thoughts let out, what humours keepe restrain'd,
 What mischief it may powrefully withstand,
 And what faire ends may thereby be attain'd? ¹

The full measure of this interrogative prophecy may be appreciated when it is realized that the poet-seer employed a "tongue" then held in contempt and used by only five million insular souls; yet, in the course of three centuries, those "accents" have encircled the globe, and several hundred million are conversant with the tongue of Shakespeare, Hakluyt, and Raleigh.

As it affected America, the general concept of British colonization was set forth in 1784 by the New Hampshire historian, Jeremy Belknap:

It is happy for America that its discovery and settlement by the Europeans happened at a time when they were emerging from a long period of ignorance and darkness. The discovery of the magnetic needle, the invention of printing, and revival of literature and the reformation of religion, had caused a vast alteration in their views and taught them the true use of their rational and active powers.*

PREAMBLE TO JAMESTOWN

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was characterized throughout by national rivalry with Spain, notwithstanding her personal flirtations with Philip II. Besides the effect of open warfare upon the fate of Raleigh's colony, the development of American colonization was closely associated with the Spanish efforts to subdue the Netherlands. Not to take this factor into consideration is to miss two important phases connected with the beginnings of the first permanent settlements. Although the two sovereigns were nomi-

* *History of New Hampshire* (Dover, 1784), I, 1.

nally at peace, Philip was encouraging revolt against English rule in Ireland, where he landed men and supplies. On her part, Elizabeth was secretly helping the Dutch in their revolt against Spanish rule.

Out of the latter situation arose two highly important results: First, war in the Netherlands afforded both military training and the requisite spirit of adventure to many of those whose services aided or saved the first colony of Virginia; secondly, the Dutch, freed from Spanish control, offered a haven for courageous English exiles, who later set sail for Virginia to become the founders of New England.

When James I ascended the throne in 1603 the actively militant English foes of Philip of Spain were curbed. Official peace with Spain was proclaimed in 1605, and one of the effects of the change was the imprisonment of Raleigh, whose head was ultimately to fall, according to popular belief, at Spanish instigation. Raleigh's confinement in the Tower and consequent attainder brought to a close his lease to the vast palatinate granted by Elizabeth; and such rights and privileges pertaining to his Virginia patent which he had transferred to a group of merchants and others became invalid. The preamble of the charter which created the London and Plymouth Companies recites that the patent was granted upon the petition of "our loving and well disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Somers, Knights; Richard Hakluyt, clerk, prebendary of Westminster; and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert Esqrs.; William Parker, and George Popham . . . and divers others." This charter was dated April 10, 1606, and was issued to the incorporators, who were resolved into two groups. One group became known as the Company for the City of London and was entitled to establish a settlement which "shall be called the first colony." The second group, centered in or around the "town of Plymouth," was empowered to establish a settlement "upon the said coast of Virginia and America" which was to be known as the "second colony." The charter further provided for a council of thirteen members resident in England for each of the companies; and for each colony a council of thirteen resident in Virginia to be responsible for

the conduct of affairs under their respective jurisdictions acting in conformity with the king's instructions.*

Although the general provisions of the patent covered both corporations, the Plymouth Company was given the exclusive right to settle between the degrees forty-one to forty-four north latitude, while the London Company had the exclusive right to settle between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels. The intervening territory—which extended roughly from the mouth of the Potomac to Manhattan—was open to subsequent colonization by either Company, presumably to encourage rivalry in establishing settlements. The details connected with the London-Plymouth patent are, however, of minor consequence in comparison with an understanding of the character and motives of the principal actors in the promotion of Anglo-American colonization, as it progressed from near failure to ultimate success.

PROJECTORS OF THE FIRST COLONY

Several of the incorporators of the London-Plymouth Companies were associated with the founding of the East India Company. The latter, established in 1601, was given over to commerce and trading. It paid handsome dividends in cash returns. On the other hand, the dividends of the Virginia-London Company were to consist in beginning that expansion of the English-speaking people which eventually led to the control of the North American continent.

The first head of the London Company was Sir Thomas Smith, who was also the governor of the East India Company. Sir Thomas was officially known as "Treasurer," here meaning president. The East India Company readily raised the money needed for the extension of that commercially profitable enterprise as against the difficulties encountered in providing sufficient funds

* Notwithstanding the fact that in its outlines the London-Plymouth charter was similar to patents granted to trading companies, this point has been overstressed, not infrequently to the neglect of highly important matters of difference. In short, the main *objective of the association of the incorporators being new; viz., colonization*, the provisions for the administration of the affairs of the Companies were markedly dissimilar, in recognition of their political functions, which the king intended to control; and the fact that the practice of this prerogative of administration was yielded by the monarch in the Charter of 1609 is one of the most significant facts in Anglo-American colonization.

for the development of the Virginia colony, maintenance of the latter being supplied by various means, among which were subscriptions from churches.

Sir Thomas, King James' choice as treasurer, was perhaps London's most notable merchant. Judging him by the nature of his investments, together with subsequent developments, it seems clear that his interest in America was rather in the line of the discovery of trade routes—for example, a short cut to India, the land of fabulous wealth. He was a leading patron of explorers and his name was given to an island at the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay and to a sound in the Arctic Ocean.* He helped to send Henry Hudson into the waters of northern Virginia, whence we have Hudson Bay; William Baffin in search of the Northwest Passage; and Thomas Poole to Greenland. Sir Thomas had little or none of the romanticism of Raleigh, with whom, however, he had served with distinction at Cadiz in 1596. Accused of participation in the Essex plot under Elizabeth, he found favor with James I, as Raleigh exchanged places with him in the Tower. As a royalist-conservative he later opposed the liberal spirits in the London Company who evolved the establishment of self-government at Jamestown, together with the elaborate plans for the education and conversion of the Virginia Indians.† Diplomatic circles had occasion to marvel at this merchant's munificence when he entertained at his town house in Philpot Lane the ambassador from France and his retinue of one hundred and twenty persons.

Sir Edwin Sandys, Smith's successor as president, became a member of the Council for Virginia May 23, 1609. His early labors and subsequent leadership made possible the calling of the first parliament in America, an achievement which should be associated with the important role he played in English politics. He was the second son of Edwin Sandys, successively Bishop of Worcester, of London, and Archbishop of York. At Oxford, Sir Edwin was influenced by the politico-religious views of Richard Hooker, and

* It may be noted that Captain John Smith claimed that the island was named in honor of himself. Cf. *Travels and Works* (Arber, ed.), II, 413. Against this claim there is the letter from Sir Samuel Argall to Master Nicholas Hawes of June, 1613, in which Argall wrote: "I carried Sir Thomas Dale to Sir Thomas Smith's Island, to have his opinion of inhabiting it."—*Purchas*, XIX, 91.

† *Infra*, p. 267 ff.

after a sojourn in Switzerland he developed an antagonism to the alleged abuses of both the Romanists and the high ritualists of the Anglican church. Light on his subsequent disagreements with Sir Thomas Smith is shed by his appointment in 1604 as a member of a committee of Parliament to investigate popular complaints against the trading companies, in nearly all of which Sir Thomas was a prominent figure. Sandys was intensely interested in the conversion of the American Indians and the spread of the Anglican church; but from the time he showed his opposition to autocratic rule in England and his devotion to the upbuilding of political liberty in Virginia, he became *persona non grata* with James I. Confined in 1621 to his house by royal order, opinion was divided as to whether his confinement was so ordered for his procedure in Parliament or in the matter of the Virginia business. Of Sandys' five sons, four adhered to the Parliamentary party during the Civil War, which seems to throw light on their father's influence, sharpened, perhaps, by resentment over James I's dissolution of the London-Virginia Company.

Another member of the Council for Virginia, Henry Wriothesley, the third Earl of Southampton, bears comparison with Sir Walter Raleigh. Less glamorous in person and performance, he was at home in the highest circles, where he did not rise as high or fall so far. Although he was much at court, he would not overly bend the knee in supplication or bow too low in flattery, showing an independence that did him honor. Faithful to his friend, Essex, he stood by the latter in his quarrel with Queen Elizabeth. Fortunately for the future of American colonization, Southampton's sentence of execution was stayed. In 1593, Elizabeth, perhaps the greatest royal match-maker or would-be marriage dictator in English history, brought him to an attainder for marrying Essex's cousin without her permission, a royal disapproval that, in similar fashion, befell Raleigh. Like Raleigh, Southampton fought the power of Spain; and he also saw distinguished service with Essex in the unhappy wars in Ireland, which so often furnished sharp contrasts in character with conflicts on the Continent.

The death of Elizabeth probably saved the life of Southampton; and James, reversing many of his predecessor's judgments, for good or ill, not only released the distinguished prisoner but also

restored his property, a step which doubtless the monarch had occasion to regret when Southampton subsequently opposed the royal will in order to stand with Sandys and the other independent spirits of the Virginia-London Company. Southampton thus had the unusual distinction of defying the power of two autocratically minded sovereigns representing different royal houses or dynasties.

As Raleigh had been a patron of Hariot, the mathematician, and of Hakluyt, the historian, so Southampton was the patron of Shakespeare, a connection which may have induced indirect references to American colonization, such as Cranmer's prediction upon the birth of Elizabeth, praised as the "maiden phoenix" from whose ashes would arise a royal heir under whom "new nations" will arise.*

Southampton's high rank and influence proved invaluable to Sandys and the founding of representative government in Virginia, which may be described as the greatest gift of the mother country to her colonies; for without Southampton's help Sandys must have failed in this achievement. The Earl became a member of the Virginia Company's Council in 1609; and when the New England Council was created November 3, 1620, he was a distinguished associate. When war was declared against Spain, Southampton was found fighting in the Netherlands, where he died in 1624 as he was preparing to bring back to England the body of his eldest son. His second greatest service to posterity was his defiance of the royal commissioners in refusing to yield to them the records of the last years of the Virginia Company, which he felt in honor bound to preserve as documents entrusted to his keeping.

Only less distinguished, but highly useful to the cause of political liberty, were the services of the Ferrars—Nicholas the elder and his sons, John and Nicholas. The lifeline of the elder Nicholas, listed simply as a "skinner," spanned all or parts of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. He illustrated his idealism by bequeathing the modern equivalent of sixty thousand dollars "to the college in Virginia," which was to be paid when there

* *King Henry VIII*, Act V, Sc. V. Still further indicating the association between Shakespeare and Southampton, the former did not memorialize her Majesty until Southampton was released. Then, and then only, did the Bard write of the "eclipse of England's mortal moon" (Sonnet 107, line 5). Shakespeare's references to "tennis balls" in *Henry V* may be an indirect reference to Southampton's addiction to the sport.

shall be ten Indian youths entered (*infra*, p. 271). Besides arranging for this bequest, diverted to other purposes after the General Massacre of 1622, he paid into the Company treasury much more than he originally subscribed as an "adventurer," or stockholder.

Although the senior Nicholas held no office in the Company, his sons served as deputy treasurers or vice-presidents. The younger Nicholas was highly gifted, mentally and spiritually; and his career was unique in an age that produced many unusual characters. Although fitted by training and temperament to be a scholar in religious orders, he was so much a master of affairs that he was chosen counsel for the London Company. When, because of the persecutions of the king, Sir Edwin Sandys was prevented from attending its meetings, Ferrar bore the brunt of the business. As in 1620, the Earl of Southampton had accepted the presidency of the Company on the promise that Sandys would manage its affairs, so in 1622 Southampton agreed to continue in that office if Ferrar would accept the duties of the office of deputy; and the history of the early development of Virginia under representative institutions could hardly be written but for his labors in making certified copies of the records of this particular period, after James I had issued orders to have the papers seized.

In the seventeenth-century biography of Ferrar by Peter Peckard we learn that as a student Nicholas sought to follow the saying of Pittacus, "Know the past and thou canst interpret the future." In the words of the biographer, "he was particularly fond of historical relations, and when engaged in this sort of reading, the day did not satisfy him but he would borrow from the night."² His health giving way under what now appears to have been malaria, he left Cambridge for extensive travels over Europe, in the course of which he made careful observations, possibly in shorthand, in which he was adept. In 1618, he returned to London, already recognized as a discriminating collector of "scarce and valuable books."³ Immediately he became actively interested in American colonization. The religious aspects of the plan appealed to him most strongly, and, in accordance with the testimony of the Reverend Patrick Copeland,* he would have accompanied George Thorpe to Virginia in order to devote his life to the conversion of

* This spelling, as used by Peckard, is preferred to the perhaps more usual *Copland*.

the Indians; but the press of work assigned him, first as Company counsel and from 1622-1624 as deputy or vice-president, held him in England. When the "Spanish party," abetted by Gondomar, persuaded the autocratic James that the Virginia-London Company was a breeding ground for democracy, Ferrar bore the brunt of preparing the defense of the Company before the Privy Council. According to Peckard, "the Spanish match being yet intended, and prosecuted, during this negotiation, the king was the absolute slave of Gondomar to do without regard to honour and justice whatsoever he should advise to be done."⁴ After Prince Charles had returned from Spain, "in great discontent,"⁵ from his vain quest for the hand of the Infanta, the Spanish party lost influence; but by this time the Company was undergoing dissolution; and, as a member of Parliament, the last public act of Nicholas Ferrar was to take part in the proceedings which led to the impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex, long an enemy of the Company and now convicted of taking bribes.

Thereafter, Ferrar sold his house in London, in the great hall of which there had been many meetings of its members, in order to give himself over to a life of religious exercises, although he devoted much of his time to the education of the children of the rural neighborhood about *Little Gidding*, his estate in Huntingdonshire. Here he was reported to have translated the New Testament into twenty-four languages; and he had in mind still other translations in order to include "the language spoken by the savages in the Virginia Plantation" and "that other kind also spoken in New England."

In the religious mysticism of his remarkable personality, Ferrar seemed to unite monastic scholarship with some of the asceticism of the Puritan, the humility of the Friend, and the love of the beautiful that was characteristic of the tolerant type of Anglican, the communion he served with faithfulness as a deacon, while persistently refusing all higher awards and offices in both church and state. This brief sketch may well include the following pertinent comments:

To one of his biographers he "had all the making of an excellent man of business," and to Shorthouse he represented "the unusual combination of the courtier and the monk." . . . Even in his retirement he

revealed an unabated affection for and interest in the Colony of Virginia, a devotion which made him rejoice in the christening of his niece by that name.⁶

Since Sandys, Southampton, the Ferrars, and their associates molded the aims and bore the chief burden of carrying on through the long years when lack of dividends alienated the commercial faction, the nature of these aims is shown by the character of these leaders. They made mistakes, chiefly in the personnel of their agents of supply; but in the all-important matter of the establishment and perpetuation of liberal political principles, they were supremely successful.

TERMS OF THE CHARTER OF 1606

Of the eight men who signed the petition which resulted in the letters patent issued to the Plymouth-London Companies, Sir Thomas Gates was the first there recorded; and he was later hailed by Sir Edwin Sandys as the principal forwarder of the southern colony. The honor thus contemporaneously accorded to Gates may now seem disputable, yet, issuing from so distinguished a source, the claim is not to be cast lightly aside. Gates had, under Drake, served in American waters in the voyage of 1585-1586 that rescued the first Roanoke settlers. He also served with Essex at Cadiz, and in the Netherlands against Spain. He was a "venturer" as well as an "adventurer," to use the terms of that age.*

Although the phraseology of the body of the patent was legalistic, the charter preamble especially commended the oft-repeated hopes of the "favourers and wel-willers" of American colonization in "their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work" in teaching the Christian religion to the American savages who "as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God."⁷

The terminology of the charter has given rise to sundry mis-

* *Adventurer* meant one who risked his means in the enterprise; a *venturer* risked his person. As noted below, two of these eight petitioners were also Virginia "venturers": Edward-Maria Wingfield at Jamestown and George Popham at Sagadahoc, representing respectively the London and the Plymouth colonies.

leading impressions with respect to the extent of Virginia as compared with the region authorized for colonization. James I had particularly sought to avoid entering upon territory even approximately settled by the Spanish, with whom he wished to maintain peace. Furthermore, if the colonists were attacked, he wished to be free to disclaim their act and disavow his connection, despite a royal patent. In fact, as early as September, 1607, Don Pedro de Zuniga anticipated such a plea of non-responsibility when, in planning to see James I, he wrote to Philip III that he feared the British monarch would not heed the Spanish demand to order the withdrawal of the English colonists—on the ground that it “is not his business.” *

Allotting to each company a specified region, the king took care that settlement should be confined to that portion of the continent not only not actually occupied by the subjects of a Christian monarch but not even near the same. Ultra-cautious, he permitted immediate colonization above the thirty-fourth parallel, or at an assuredly safe distance from St. Augustine. Presumably, also, the Hakluyt claims, “at least to the circle Articke,” were not yielded, as secretaries of state continued to repudiate the Spanish claim to the whole of North America. Nevertheless, the northern bounds of settlement were set at the forty-fifth parallel. Immediate occupation between the given parallels was limited, the London and Plymouth companies being assigned tracts fifty miles north and south of their respective points of settlement, and “directly into the main land by the space of one hundred like English miles.” Titles to land were subject to grant, in fee simple, rather than by feudal tenure.

An important feature of the charter was the clause which provided that English colonists “shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this realm of England.” As stated by Professor Channing: “The success of the new movement was to depend largely on the

* Zuniga to Philip III, September 22, 1607, Brown, *Genesis*, I, 117. Although the Spanish claimed the region as part of Spanish *Florida*, at least one of these reports referred to it by the English name—*Virginia*. Cf. *The American Historical Review*, XXV, 449.

proposition that colonists had the same rights as home-dwellers—a fact that marks off English colonization from all other colonization, ancient and modern.”⁸

In contradistinction to the Virginia-London Company charters of 1609 and 1612, which Sir Edwin Sandys helped to draft, there were, in this London-Plymouth Company patent of 1606, no other popular features. The colonial council appointees of the king were to lay down all regulations for local needs. The colonists, however, were granted the right to tax English traders two and a half

VIRGINIA CHARTERS. NUMBER I.

King JAMES I.'s LETTERS PATENT to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two severall Colonies and Plantations, to be made in VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories of AMERICA. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Kaleigh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them

and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do, by these our letters patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended desires.

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our heirs and successors, Grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or

THE CHARTER OF 1606

As the opening of it appears in *The Charters—A Narrative of the Proceedings of the North American Colonies in Consequence of the Late Stamp Act*. Printed in London in 1766. (From the Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library.)

per cent, and all others five per cent on their respective transactions for the ensuing twenty-one years, while English export duties were remitted for seven years. Mining rights were provided for, and the right to coin money. Significantly, the charter also granted the right to wage war by way of repelling attack or invasion.

THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY COLONY

Although the “second colony of Virginia” set out from Plymouth some months after the London colony sailed from Blackwall,

it seems appropriate to take up the story of this much-neglected effort first. The spirit of enterprise on behalf of settling the "northern parts" was exemplified by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, long commander of the port of old Plymouth. Associated with such men as Chief Justice Sir John Popham, Captain George Popham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Gorges assumed immediate leadership in the Plymouth Company undertaking.⁹ An earlier procedure of his looking towards colonization had been to dispatch in August, 1606, Captain Henry Challons to the northern coast. In his plan Gorges combined the ideas of Raleigh's first and second expeditions. Challons was to explore and report on a fair landing for settlers, which had been the assigned task of Amadas and Barlow; and, in addition, Gorges furnished two Indians, who were to act as interpreters. Instead of taking the northern route, as instructed, Challons took it upon himself to sail by the West Indies, where he encountered a tempest in one place, a long calm in another, and a fog in a third, in the midst of which he fell in with eleven Spanish vessels. Regardless of the recent treaty of peace, formally announced between England and Spain, the Spanish promptly fired upon and captured Challons, ship and all.¹⁰

Gorges, having in this effort done his share in exploration, Sir John Popham dispatched Captain Martin Pring, who made the report which Challons had failed to provide. Pring, in fact, returned with what Gorges described as the "most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands."¹¹ This report, he wrote, "set up our resolution to follow it with effect, and that upon better grounds."

The three vessels that had set out for the Chesapeake region under London Company auspices were soon followed by two dispatched by the Plymouth Company for the north coast, sailing from the port of Plymouth on the last day of May, 1607; *viz.*, the *Gift of God* and the *Mary and John*, with six score aboard. The vessels were under the command of Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham. Their destination was the mouth of the Kennebec, then known as the Sagadahoc; and it may be added that regardless of the prominence of others associated with this attempted settlement, the name of "one Digby of London, chief ship wright and master builder,"¹² should receive special mention as forerunner

of a long line of shipbuilders who brought distinction and prosperity to the northeastern colonies subsequently established in that region. At Sagadahoc (Sabino) Digby constructed a small but seaworthy pinnace, which was called the *Virginia*, since that name then applied just as much to the northern coast as to the region of Roanoke Island or that of the Chesapeake Bay. Two years later the *Virginia* was one of nine ships that sailed from England to Jamestown under Somers and Newport. Its captain was James Davis, who had commanded the fort of St. George at Sagadahoc, and it is worth observing that Davis was appointed commander of a similar fortification at Point Comfort.

The *Mary and John* returned to England carrying to Gorges the news of the arrival of the colonists, and bearing also the usual glowing stories of wonderful products affording great prospects of profit. The Indians were reported as "tractable"; but there was a discordant note in stories of dissension resulting from "faction and private resolutions," causing Gorges to write to Secretary Cecil a letter in which he described George Popham as "discrete, careful and honest" but "old and of an unweildy body, and timorously fearful to offend." He praised Gilbert as "valiant" but "of small judgement and experience." He stated—with no little significance, in view of the emphasis placed upon the altruistic purpose of converting the natives—that Gilbert had but "little zeal for religion." ¹³

To Gorges and the "adventurers" at home the business looked hopeful, albeit the *Mary and John* did not bring back any commodities to help pay for expenses incurred. Bad news came with the return, early in 1608, of the *Gift of God* having forty of the "venturers" aboard, who were sent back to England for lack of provisions to feed them. The returning colonists brought further news of dissension, and since the French were beginning to follow up their earlier explorations in Canada, Gorges warned James I of French intrigues with the natives in the north, as Raleigh had played on Elizabeth's fears of Spanish domination of Virginia from the south. Failing, however, to get royal aid for the Sagadahoc colony, Gorges sent out two vessels with supplies. A third ship sent out bore the news of the death of Sir John Gilbert, "adventurer" in the Plymouth Company and the elder brother of Raleigh

Gilbert, in command of the colony after the death of George Popham. Since Raleigh Gilbert was heir to the Gilbert estates, he felt compelled to return to look after his personal interests. Therefore, with Governor Popham dead and Gilbert leaving, it seemed best to the colonists, like their predecessors at Roanoke Island in 1586, to return home.¹⁴

THE "SARAH CONSTANT" SAILS

It is worth bearing in mind that London, with a population of less than 300,000, was, because of its foreign trade, cosmopolitan; while in other respects it was village-like. The Virginia-London Company had no permanent offices; and its members met in private houses. For several years, the meetings were held at the town house of Sir Thomas Smith; later Sir Edwin Sandys or Nicholas Ferrar was the host. The city was still suffering from the ravages of the Black Plague; and, while the charter of the London-Plymouth Companies was obtained in April, a month that has ever been notable in American history, it was not until December that three small vessels: the *Sarah Constant*, of 100 tons; the *Goodspeed*, of 40 tons; and the *Discovery*, of 20 tons,* were ready to sail on the mission which marks the genesis of the United States, with Christopher Newport, Admiral, in "sole charge and command" of about one hundred and forty souls, including prospective colonists and sailors. Widely known as a fearless fighter and an experienced and highly capable navigator, he was in immediate command of the *Sarah Constant*. Bartholomew Gosnold, a previous visitor to Virginia shores, was captain of the *Goodspeed*; and John Ratcliffe of the tiny *Discovery*, usually called the pinnacle.†

The fighting mariners of that age were almost wholly given to destruction, rather than construction. Newport fought with the

* The last two were called "barks" by early British historians. Cf. William Robertson, *op. cit.*

† In his account of the voyage, Captain George Percy referred to Newport as "Our Admiral, Captaine Newport," thereby clearly indicating that Newport held the former title as commander of the fleet, besides being the directing officer of the flagship. Once only in his several years' association with Jamestown was he under some one else, and then as Vice-Admiral in the fleet commanded by Admiral Sir George Somers. Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, pp. 1685-1690 (ed. 1625).

best; yet, judging by the results of his labors, he had no superior in the constructive arts of peace. Rising above the prevailing passion for plundering the Spaniard, he applied himself to supplying the needs of the colony in bearing goods and settlers overseas and co-operating with them when landed.

On December 20 (O. S.) 1606, just before the glad English yuletide, the *Sarah Constant* and her consorts dropped down the Thames from Blackwall on what was to prove one of the most important voyages in world history. Those aboard represented a cross section of contemporary English life—a cross section in social standing from the highest to the lowest, as also in character and performance. Good and bad were intermingled, and all concerned were on a common plane of inexperience in conquering a wilderness. Those who sent them out believed that theirs was a task which men should initiate, and that women would follow when a site was chosen and settlement established. There were, however, some young boys among them, one of whom was to die in an Indian attack by night within a few days after landing.¹⁵

Michael Drayton indited patriotic verses to these Britons faring forth on high mission bound; yet the precise time of their departure was probably not noised about. There were enemy eyes and ears on the alert; and despite the recent declaration of peace between England and Spain, no one knew whether the vessels would be violently intercepted—a possibility for which Newport was, no doubt, prepared. Three of the eighteen stanzas of Drayton's "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" are here given to illustrate part of his apostrophe to the Virginia venturers; a prophecy of renown for generations to come; and finally a contemporaneous tribute to the genius of the geographer-annalist who did most to create and maintain interest in Anglo-American hopes, and who, like Raleigh, lived to see the beginnings of the "new nation" overseas:

You brave heroic minds,
Worthy your country's name,
That honor still pursue,
Go, and subdue,
Whilst loitering hinds
Lurk here at home with shame.

And in regions far,
Such heroes bring ye forth
As those from whom we came;
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our North.

Thy voyages attend,
Industrious HACKLUYT
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seek fame,
And much commend
To after-times thy wit.

As in the case of nearly all vessels sailing to the New World a plentiful supply of beads, trinkets, and other such "toys" were taken for purposes of barter. Among these emigrants sundry trades were represented, including carpenters, a blacksmith, and a tailor. In fact, the English people, accustomed to class or "guild" ways, were long under the impression that each group sent out must have a full complement of "artificers." Small British tradesmen had, through successive generations, been specialists in their respective crafts; so, it was thought, similar conditions would prevail in the New World. When, however, English colonists were thrown upon their own resources, they soon developed what became the distinguishing characteristic of Americans—an aptitude for all kinds of craftsmanship united with a genius for adaptation and invention.*

The uncertainties of ocean voyaging were never better illustrated. Because of persistently unfavorable winds, the *Sarah Constant* and her sister ships were forced to remain in the channel near Dover for some six weeks, or until after the middle of February. As if this were not delay enough, it was thought necessary to proceed by the Canaries and the West Indies; yet to the sailors of that age neither the long "contrarie winds" nor the great storms were as fearful as the appearance of a comet, afterwards known as

* A special notation is given one of these early all-round Americans—a Captain Newce (or Nuse), planter, who in constructing a well, houses, Indian barricades, etc., got himself recorded in history, as, "In all these things he plaid the Sawyer, Carpenter, Dauber, Laborer, or anything."—Smith, *Travels and Works*, Arber, II, 593.

Halley's. Such apparitions were usually believed to portend disaster, a thought that found early seventeenth-century expression in the lines:

Eight things there be a Comet brings,
When it on high doth horrid range;
Wind, Famine, Plague, and Death to Kings,
War, Earthquake, Floods and Direful Change.*

Arriving in the West Indies in March, 1607, stops were made at sundry islands, where they received from the natives "pines [pineapples],[†] potatoes, plantons, tobacco and other fruits." They visited the hot springs at Guadeloupe, in which Newport boiled a piece of bacon; and they paused at the Virgin Islands. At Mona they took on fresh water, for what they had shipped at Nevis was smelling "vildly." The final stop was made at Monito, where wild fowl made so great a noise that "wee were not able to heare one another speake."[‡]

On approaching the continent, a furious storm arose, so that the beginning and ending of the voyage were alike. Unlike many other such passages, however, the ships were not separated

* *Cf. Comet Lore*, by Edwin Emerson (New York), p. 18. This brochure presents a grouping of eighty-odd appearances of various comets throughout the Christian era, each one associated with happenings of historical import. The comet of 1607 is, however, associated here with comparatively obscure contemporary events in Poland and Persia, rather than with the beginnings of the epochal expansion of Britain, although the comet was at its brightest over England. In a second listing this association is suggested.

While we do not today accept the ancient theory that comets are heavenly heralds of human happenings, it may be added that another comet—hitherto associated wholly with the calamity of the Thirty Years' War in Europe—made its appearance in 1618; and since Halley's comet may be auspiciously interpreted as the omen of the birth of a new nation, the comet of 1618 may similarly be associated with the promulgation of the "Greate Charter" of that year, which provided for the first establishment of representative institutions in America; in short, the birth of colonial self-government.

Incidentally, Halley's comet had appeared at the time of the battle of Hastings. The next most notable coincidence was its appearance when Constantinople fell to the Turks, when it seems to have been confounded with another such apparition appearing three years later, which appears to have led to the origination of a still-current report that a special petition was added to the litany of that period; *viz.*, the prayer: "From the Turk and the comet, Good Lord, deliver us." An authoritative correction of the popular story is found in J. Stein, *Calixte III et la comète de Halley* (1909).

[†] This fruit elicited more extravagant encomiums from English voyagers than any other found in the New World.

[‡] For the trouble arising en route, leading to the confinement of Captain John Smith, see p. 76, *infra*.

throughout the voyage, doubtless an additional tribute to Admiral Newport's management. During several days, soundings were taken, and on April 26 (O. S.) land was sighted at about four o'clock in the morning. During the day, Newport, Gosnold, and some twenty-odd men landed at the southern entrance to the Chesapeake. Newport named the south cape "Henry," after the Prince of Wales, and the opposite point "Charles," in honor of the then Duke of York.

On landing, almost any spot would have appeared good to men who had been four months at sea; in any event, Percy's "Discourse" descants upon the sight of "faire meadows and goodly tall trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the sight thereof." However, this auspicious day closed with an incident ominous of trouble, when at dusk, as the party prepared to go aboard, they were suddenly attacked by Indians. In the ensuing encounter, Captain Gabriel Archer and a sailor were wounded before the savages were driven off by the "sharpness of our shot." On the 27th, a shallop, prepared in England and shipped in sections, was put together, and the chronicler of the voyage reported dining on Virginia oysters "very large and delicate in taste." *

James I had intrusted to Newport a sealed box of "articles" and "instructions," which was now opened. The instructions were possibly the combined product of his Majesty, of his several advisors, and of the members of the Council. Parts, at least, were characteristic of the monarch dubbed "the wisest fool in Christendom"; for some of the advice was good, while other ideas were impracticable under pioneer conditions, and still others fraught with disaster. According to custom, the authority of the mariner in charge of the voyage ceased upon landing. Newport, however, had been placed on the Virginia Council, which consisted of but seven members, albeit the charter called for a body of thirteen. The other six thus designated were Edward-Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall.

* The body of water where the colonists made their landfall was named "Morton's Bay" in honor of the sailor there wounded by the Indians. Its name, subsequently changed to Lynnhaven, is still associated with choice oysters.

The "Articles, Instructions, and Orders" may be divided into three parts: (1) Those "made, set down, and established by Us"—meaning by James I; (2) Certain "Orders and Directions conceived and set down . . . by his Majesty's Council" in England; and (3) "Instructions given by way of Advice," also by the Council in England to those in Virginia.¹⁶

In the royal Orders it was laid down that the Council in Virginia should proceed according to the common "law of the realm and the equity thereof." Thereafter, the Council was subject to change or additions at the pleasure of the king, who had the power to veto all proceedings, regardless of whether they originated in the Council in Virginia or in the one appointed by the Crown in England. The president of the Council in Virginia was to be elected by majority vote of the members thereof, exclusive of any "minister of God's word." He was to serve for "one whole year," when his successor was to be chosen from the members of the Council.*

Certain provisions with respect to crimes and punishment are of particular interest in that, except in cases of manslaughter, those convicted were not to have "benefit of the clergy"; and it may be noted that in England benefit, or exemption, of clergy was not done away with until the reign of George IV. Jury trials were provided for in the selection of "twelve honest and indifferent [impartial] persons," the Council acting as the court.

The primary importance of the religious motive, as first laid down by Hakluyt and subsequently emphasized by the London Company up to the year of the "General Massacre," was thus expressed in the orders and instructions: "We do specially ordain, charge, and require" those concerned "with all diligence, care and respect" to provide that the "Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but also as much as they may arouse the savage people which do or shall adjoin unto them"; and that every one should "use all good means to draw the savages and heathen people . . . to the true service and knowledge of God." "Sociable traffic" was urged, whereby the natives should be the

* The prohibition against a clergyman becoming president may be regarded as an initial attempt to separate in America the offices of church and state.

sooner brought to conversion and civility, while any who interfered with this primary and principal purpose were to suffer "severe pains and punishments."¹⁷

All colonists were required to subscribe to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, denying the doctrine of the authority of the Pope in the matter of deposing rulers, or absolving English subjects from their allegiance. Although this latter oath presumably debarred Roman Catholics from participation in Anglo-American colonization, Edward-Maria Wingfield had not only been named on the Council in Virginia but was chosen by the members thereof as its first president.*

The regulation providing that all produce was to be centered in a common storehouse or "magazine" will be discussed later. This storehouse was to be under the management of a "cap(e)-merchant" (head-merchant), or treasurer, elected for one year and subject to re-election. Under him there were to be two book-keepers. One was to render accounts of all goods brought to the magazine; while the other was to "keep a like book" wherein were to be registered all goods taken out.¹⁸

Under the head of "Instructions from the Council" in London we find much in the way of general advice for the conduct of the colony "to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there." In the first place, the colonists were to make careful choice of a safe port on a navigable river running far into the land. Also, plainly with respect to possible Spanish attack, the colonists were instructed to "choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tons will float" and "the farther up the better" even if it be a hundred miles or more from the river's mouth to avoid being "surprised, as the French were in Florida and the Spaniard in the same place by the French." It was directed that lookouts near the mouth of the river should be appointed to give warning of the approach of an enemy from overseas.¹⁹

The company was to be divided into various groups for fortifying, building, planting, guarding, and discovery. In addition,

* Prosecutions in the matter of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up Parliament (1605) were still under way in England when the charter was signed; and Roman Catholics were laboring under popular suspicion.

Newport and Gosnold were to undertake an expedition up the river for the location of minerals. "You must," said the instructions, "take special care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burdened with woods near your town, for such woods may serve for a covert for your enemies round about. Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthful." The mariners were not to trade with the "naturals" but "only such that shall be appointed by the president and council." It was further suggested that the streets of the town be laid out in order and in such fashion that a "few field-pieces" may "command every street throughout."²⁰

"In all your passages," continue the instructions, "you must have great care not to offend the naturals." The colonists were, however, directed neither to trust Indian guides nor to let them carry any English guns, nor to let them know of any deaths or see any sick men; also, that only the best marksmen be chosen to shoot at targets in the presence of the natives; "for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible. . . . Lastly and chiefly, the way to achieve good success, is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodness; for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."²¹

Happily and unhappily, the colonists ignored much of this advice, both bad and good. Apparently, they purchased the site of settlement (*infra*, p. 72) from the natives; and while it is true that they moved far inland, they ignored further advice as to choosing a site, which, as selected, was beside both marshland and woods.

In view of the high mortality rate occurring on so many voyages before and after that of the *Sarah Constant* and her consorts, it would appear that the record of but one death en route and the sound condition of the colonists upon their arrival in America offers eloquent testimony as to the exceptional skill of Admiral Newport. At this point it is well to take stock of these first "venturers" as a body. Of their entire number, fifty-eight were entitled to write after their names the customary abbreviation "Gent.," which bore a measure of relationship to "Esq." "Gentleman"

might be applied to the younger members of prominent families, or it could be acquired through the personal efforts of an individual from the lower strata of society. "Whenever the term 'Gentleman' appears in the records of the seventeenth century attached to a name it was intended to convey a meaning that has been defined with legal precision."²² In this connection, Sir Edward Coke is quoted to the effect that it was an error so to designate a man unless he possessed the unquestioned privilege of bearing arms.*

Of the fifty-eight colonists given special status, we find, besides Council members already mentioned, several whose names should be remembered; e.g., Captain Gabriel Archer, historian of Gosnold's voyage of 1602, a student of law at Gray's Inn, and the proponent of a popular or general assembly in the colony; the Reverend Robert Hunt, chosen, according to Captain John Smith, through the recommendation of "Master Richard Hakluyt," although later writers credit the recommendation to Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury;²⁴ Captain Nathaniel Powell; Thomas Studley, "cape-merchant"; and Thomas Wotton, Chirurgurgeon.†

Since, as a class, the mariners were usually concerned solely with their own interests, frequently at the expense of the colonists and occasionally to the point of disaster, it is worth while to note that among them, three, at least, served the colonists in good stead; viz., Matthew Fitch, Francis Wilson, and Robert Tindall. Tindall was

* "In view of Shakespeare's rise from yeoman to gentleman, his neighbor [John] Davies's experience with the heralds is amusing," writes Professor Hotson, who quotes an apparently unjustified demotion as follows: "Those that were disclaimed at Wotton-under-edge: John Davies of Quinton no gent." In this case, the reader may take his choice between the decree of the heralds of the College of Arms or follow the records of the subsidy roll before and after. Cf. Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare*, etc., p. 249.

An interesting and perhaps unique instance of American Indians being credited with this social status is given in Rosier's original account of the voyage of George Waymouth to northern Virginia in 1605. In reporting that the five savages seized by Waymouth "are all yet alive" in England, Rosier gave them as follows:

1. Tahanedo, a Sagamo or Commander
2. Amoret
3. Skicowaros
4. Maneddo
5. Saffacomoit, a servant²³

} Gentlemen

† For the names of these pioneers, see *A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countrey*, etc. (known as the "Oxford Tract"), Arber (ed.), *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 93-94.

also a cartographer; and one of the first letters written at Jamestown was addressed by him "To the highe and Mightie Prince Henry Fredericke, prince and heyre apparente of greate Brittain Fraunce Ireland and Virginia." Tindall was associated with young Henry as his Highness's "gunner." His letter was well expressed and enclosed a journal of "our voyage," with a lost draft of "our river," the first map of this region prepared by an Englishman.

Among the laborers was John Laydon, whose marriage the following year to Anne Burras was the first recorded in the colony. James Read, the blacksmith, came in for considerable notoriety through turning state's evidence in an alleged plot in which Councillor Kendall was condemned to death. William Love was the company's tailor; and Thomas Cowper, the barber.

SEEKING A SITE

As above stated, Newport and his men spent the second day building a shallop brought over in sections. This boat was intended to accommodate about a score of men in "discovering" the nearby waters. This they proceeded to do until they found the true channel of the river, which they named the James. As this discovery was made after sounding many shoals, Percy declared that it "put us in good comfort" and the point was named "Cape Comfort." On the north bank, they found a quintan * "made out of a whole tree, which was five and forty foot long by the rule." Also found were oysters with pearls therein, and strawberries described as "four times bigger and better than ours in England." Percy made note, also, of "flowers of divers kinds and color" and "goodly trees." Encountering no Indians, they marched boldly into the land towards "great smokes of fire" to find "that the savages had been burning down the grass, as we thought either to make their plantation there, or else to give sign, to bring their forces together, and so to give us battle." Before leaving the cape region, Newport erected a cross to indicate that the land was duly possessed by a Christian prince.²⁵

Thereafter the savages must have followed the course of the English in the *Sarah Constant* and her two consorts, with the

* Cf. *infra*, p. 244.

shallow, as they slowly moved up the James seeking a suitable site for settlement. After the attack at Cape Henry, the first meeting with any Indians was evidently at a point a few miles inland from Cape Comfort, which the natives called Kecoughtan. Captain Percy's account is amusing, as he tells of the landing and the greeting given. "When we came first a land," the Indians "made a doleful noise laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. We did think they had been at their idolatry." The Englishmen thereafter were feasted with "such dainties" as were then to be had, together with bread, "which they make of their maize or genna wheat." After smoking the pipe of amity and peace, "they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many antic tricks and faces, like so many wolves or devils."

Evidently this English narrator was not lost in admiration of native customs, for subsequently he described the principal orator of the Paspahugh Indians as an "old savage" who "made a long oration" with a "foul noise," and "vehement action." Since no visitor understood the speech, the "entertainment" here offered must have been even more tedious than the customary dancing. Along the route, the English visitors were overwhelmed with invitations and native hospitality. Since the Indians appeared to be offended if the invitations were not accepted, and since no native "oration" could be interrupted, much valuable time was lost as the Englishmen "discovered up" the river as far as the mouth of the Appomattox.

The differences in the various tribes of Virginia savages were well illustrated from Kecoughtan to the Appomattox. In contrast with Captain Percy's evident distaste for the attitude and ceremonial of some groups are his comments of admiration for the "Rappahanna" or Quiyougheohanocks, who lived near the Paspahughs on the south side of the James. These were, he wrote, "as goodly men as I have seen, of savages or Christians." Their wero-wance, or chief, came to the water's edge "playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair colored red, in fashion of a

rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of the head, with two long feathers, in fashion of a pair of horns, placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearls, and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold."

A sharper contrast followed, when the Appomattox Indians, with "many stout and able savages," appeared fully prepared, not to welcome visitors, but to do battle with invaders. "One of the chiefest," having advanced with bow and arrows in one hand and a pipe of tobacco in the other, inhospitably indicated that the tribe was "willing us to be gone." Newport, however, made the usual signs of love and peace; until at last the English were permitted to "land in quietness." Since Newport stayed here some time—the farthest point made up the river—he must have been seriously considering this site for settlement, its distance inland corresponding with the instructions.

On the journey to the Appomattox country the company had passed what was to become the first capital of the colony. As they returned downstream they again passed this site to linger a while at a point on the north bank still known as Archer's Hope, then so called, no doubt, because Archer earnestly urged its qualifications as a healthful location easily defended. According to Percy's narrative, this site was the choice of at least a great majority of the prospective colonists. Apparently, the mariners decided the issue. Disliking the site because of shoal waters near the bank, they turned the bows of the vessels again upstream, and once more the company retraced their course a few miles westward to the twice-passed spot where ships could anchor at shore in "six fathom water"—a fateful decision. Percy, whose account now ends, has stated that Archer's Hope met with "all the Colony's contentment." Smith, on the other hand, declared in his *True Relation* that the Jamestown site was "a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie"; while President Wingfield wrote in his "Discourse" that one of the charges brought against him was based on his opposition to the site Archer and the majority had preferred.

Because of its inland situation approximately sixty miles from the capes of the Chesapeake, the spot chosen complied in general with the directions of the London Company, although the projectors might have insisted upon the site at the falls—some seventy miles farther up, according to the circuitous course of the river. The area of the Jamestown island, or low-tide peninsula, was ample for a first settlement, since it was then approximately three miles long with a width varying from three hundred yards to a mile and a quarter. In 1688 the island was described by the Reverend John Clayton as being “much-what of an oval Figure” with a swamp running “diagonal-wise” which he declared “lost at least 150 acres of Land.” At this early date he recommended a plan for draining the swamp, since it was “the Great Annoyance of the Town, and no doubt but makes it much more unhealthy.”²⁶ He added that the island was “so surrounded with Water and Marshy Land that the Town could never be bomb’d [bombarded] by Land.”*

ADDENDA

PERSONNEL OF THE VIRGINIA-LONDON COMPANY

Among less well-known members of the Virginia-London Company,[†] mention should be made of Sir Walter Cope, one of the highly regarded knights, nobles, and merchants who were interested not only in the expansion of the realm but also in the extension of Christianity. Sir Walter was recognized as a patron of arts and letters, as well as of overseas enterprise; and he had served the realm as a member of Parliament for Westminster and as Chamberlain of the Exchequer. His activities extended from the

* Much information with respect to the original area and the nature of the island, together with the location of the seventeenth-century farms and habitations, has been developed by archaeologists associated with the National Park Service working on what has been chronologically termed by Nicholas Roosevelt “America’s historic monument number one.” Cf. *New York Herald Tribune*, December 16, 1940. See also Samuel H. Yonge in *The Site of Old “James Towne” 1607–1698, Tercentenary Edition* (Richmond, 1907), together with the story of the archaeological approach to colonial locations by J. C. Harrington, in the *Regional Review* (Region One), August–September, 1940, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3. The present area of some 1560 acres is owned by the Federal Government, with the exception of some 21¾ acres maintained by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

† See sketches of several of these projectors in preceding pages.

orient to the occident—to India, Virginia, the Northwest Passage, “Muscovy,” Bermuda, and Newfoundland. The wide experience and behind-the-scenes support of such Englishmen was essential to maintain the colony. Extracts from his letters about general affairs are given elsewhere in sundry connections.

Among the citizens against whose management of American affairs the autocratically minded Sir Ferdinando Gorges objected was John Eldred. It was such men, as well as the more eminent nobles of the realm, who supported the London Company and made colonization possible. Eldred undertook extensive travels in Turkey and the Holy Land, in seeking some practical overland route to India. During his absence, Raleigh began his American venture, and in time this prosperous traveller-merchant turned his attention to Virginia. He well deserved the tribute accorded him by Samuel Purchas, who wrote, as late as 1621: “Master Eldred yet liveth, a grave, rich, and principal citizen.” He was among that group who contributed more than the amount originally pledged, almost certainly with the knowledge that although investments in the East brought rich material rewards, money invested in America would at long range benefit the nation or the extension of Christianity and civilization rather than the investors. Amid the glamour cast by those of rank and title, English citizens of the Master Eldred type have been too often lost to history.

A considerable proportion of those who were added to the original Virginia Council list had relatives or descendants directly identified with the settlement of Virginia; for example, Sir Maurice Berkeley was an ancestor of two colonial governors of Virginia and of a number of present-day Americans of the Berkeley name or lineage. The autocratic acts and vindictive conduct of Sir William Berkeley before and after Bacon’s Rebellion were subsequently offset by the character and attitude of Sir Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, whose statue before the Christopher Wren building of the College of William and Mary survived a second and more extended rebellion one hundred years later.

One of the most interesting of the Council additions of March, 1607, was Sir Robert Mansell, who, as a captain in the navy, fought valiantly against the Spaniard and thereby helped to make English colonization safe in Virginia. His exploits in the “Narrow Seas”

(Dover Straits) and at Cadiz caused him to be knighted. An experienced and capable mariner himself, he was later qualified, as treasurer of the Navy, to appraise the qualifications of others. He commends himself because of his recommendation of Christopher Newport "for the reversion of the office of one of the principal masters of the navy." Mansell's ship, the *John and Francis*, made several voyages to Virginia, and he further rendered notable service to the cause of colonization by giving special aid to Sir Thomas Gates.

Sir Thomas Roe was one of those who formally subscribed nothing but actually contributed liberally to forward the Virginia business. He was, in effect, a pan-American, since he "at his and his friends' charge builded a shippe, and a pinnace for an expedition to Guiana," spending over a year in the "discovery of the Amazon and Orinoco rivers." From such services may be traced the British interests in that quarter of the globe; and the accounts of his voyages thither must certainly have attracted the attention of the English "Pilgrims" in the Netherlands, since a few years later they were considering settlement there. In 1614, he headed the first royal English embassy to the court of the Great Mogul, Shah Jehan, or Jahangir.²⁷ In fact, the success of his diplomatic efforts at courts in many countries, in Europe, as well as Asia, has perhaps never been excelled, while his marriage connections with the Berkeley family brought about personal relations with sundry venturers in Virginia.

By way of contrast with those of the Council who oversubscribed to the "Virginia business," there may be mentioned several who failed to make good on their promises. Among these were Sir Henry Montague and Sir Herbert Croft. Montague²⁸ was ready enough to lend great amounts to the East India Company at eight per cent, but it is not recorded that he gave a penny to the American cause. James I subsequently employed Sir Henry to investigate the affairs of the Company in order to provide pretexts for its dissolution—an act characteristic of sundry individuals who were honored with membership, but who did not respond with commensurate interest or with financial aid.

Sir Herbert Croft,²⁹ also a member of the Council, contributed nothing to the enterprise; although he is hardly to be rated as one

of the commercial group. The finger of suspicion has been pointed at him as the member of the Council who reported its proceedings through Zuniga to Philip of Spain. It may be said that he came by this procedure naturally, since, according to Froude, his grandfather under Elizabeth had been in the pay of Spain.³⁰ His contemporaries stated that, having been "ruined by the excesses of his wife, he retired to Douai, where, having been received into the College of Benedictines, he spent the remainder of his days in strict devotion and religious exercise."

Sir Thomas Freake, an inheritor of vast estates, was one of a group who subscribed largely but paid niggardly, in proportion to his promise; while Sir Oliver Cromwell represented a man of honor who redeemed his promise, but stopped at that point; and it is interesting to note that when the Civil War broke out he "adventured" his fortune against his nephew and namesake on behalf of the cause of Charles I. He died impoverished during the period of the Protectorate.

ON INDIAN RIGHTS

In recent times, it has been asserted by apologists for aggressor nations that, in demanding or seizing the land of other countries, the aggressors were merely applying the principles or methods used by the English in taking America from the Indians. An historical analysis, however, discloses several points which invalidate the alleged analogy.

The projectors of the colony at Roanoke Island first, and those of Jamestown later, showed that the English wished to "inhabit with" the natives "in amity" and it was fully recognized that the savages knew no property metes and bounds. Furthermore, the settlers at Jamestown (*infra*, p. 72) purchased "waste" or unused land even though the neighboring tribes held neither title nor ownership.

A few years later John Winthrop gave this matter prayerful study in his "Arguments for the Plantation of New England," wherein he set forth more succinctly, perhaps, than any one else the prevailing view of the status of the Indian in relation to the soil. Accordingly he wrote:

That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they enclose no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbours. And why may not christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corne) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? ³¹

In the first half of the nineteenth century Chief Justice Marshall observed that the discovery of undefined countries "gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which might be consummated by possession." ³²

At a still later period, Chancellor Kent wrote:

To leave the Indians in possession of the country, was to leave the country a wilderness; and to govern them as a distinct people, or to mix with them, and to admit them to an intercommunity of privileges, was impossible under the circumstances of their relative condition. . . . The rule that the Indian was subordinate to the absolute, ultimate title of the government of the European colonists, and that the Indians were to be considered as occupants, and entitled to protection in peace in that character only, and incapable of transferring their right to others, was the best one that could be adopted with safety. ³³

Chapter III

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

AT the sound of trumpets on the morning of May 14 the colonists disembarked upon the now historic "spot of earth, which thrust out" from the north bank of the James "into the depth and midst of the channell." Thereupon the settlers, "in the name of God," began to "raise a Fortresse with the ablest and speediest meanes they could."¹ In the words of Sir Dudley Carleton, who wrote from London to John Chamberlain August 18, 1607: "They have fortified themselves and built a small towne which they call Jamestowne, and so they date theyr letters, but the towne me thincks hath no gracefull name." Carleton added, however, that "Mr. Warner hath a letter from Mr. George Percie, who names theyr towne James-Forte, which we like best of all the rest."²

According to plan, the government was organized, with six of the seven councillors originally appointed prepared to serve, Captain Smith being under charges of having conspired to incite mutiny on the voyage. These six chose Edward-Maria Wingfield as president.*

The testimony of all witnesses, even the most censorious, described the hearty good will of the voyage-weary colonists as they started the work in hand. By the sun, or the present calendar, it was the latter part of May,† so that the weather was, for Englishmen, already oppressively warm; nevertheless, the ships' stores had to be brought on shore, including an all-too-scant supply of food, much of it more than four months old and by no means benefited by sea air and the voyage through the tropics. For "fortifying,"

* Although a "Romanist," and therefore under popular suspicion, he evidently held with England politically and patriotically; for he had volunteered in the Netherlands against Catholic Spain, where for a while he was a prisoner of war. Wingfield was of noble birth; and his father had as his sponsors in confirmation Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole.

† May 24, N. S. The settlers had arrived at the island site the day before, May 13, O. S.

cannon had to be landed and properly mounted; also, palisades had to be constructed, and the long stakes or small tree-trunks had to be driven deep into the ground. Then in order to offer the adventurers in England some return for their outlay, the colonists began at once to prepare for shipment in the *Sarah Constant* and the *Goodspeed* such commodities as were immediately available, particularly clapboards and sassafras roots.*

That the colonists were hopeful—in fact, in their inexperience, unduly so—is shown by the setting out of tropical plants. “From the West Indies,” they wrote, “we brought a certeine delicious fruite, called a pina [pineapple]; which the Spanyard, by all art possible, could never procure to grow in any place but in his naturall site. This we rudely and carelessly sett in our mould, which fostereth it, and keepes it greene; and to what issue it may come, I know not. Our West-Indy plants of oranges and cotten-trees thrive well; likewise the potatoes, pumpions, and mellions. All our garden-seeds that were carefully sowne prosper well.”³

While all hands appeared thus usefully engaged in beginning the settlement, Admiral Newport bore in mind the instructions of the London Company in the matter of exploring the nearby country, not only with respect to discovering a possible route to the South Sea and minerals in the uplands, but to report on the “commodities” of the country; for it was hoped that Virginia would supply glass, soap ashes, naval stores, iron ore, and various kinds of wood, products of the temperate zone, to say nothing of wine, salt, silks, figs, raisins, and perhaps spices. Because of the prevailing ignorance of climatic differences it was natural to argue that since much of Virginia was in latitudes corresponding with that of Spain and Italy, semi-tropical commodities could be grown in the Chesapeake region. More conservatively, Archer reported: “We can, by our industry and plantation of commodious merchandize, make oils, wines, soap-ashes; extract from the mineral-earth iron, copper, &c. We have good fishing for muskles, with reasonable mother-of-pearl, and if the pearl we have seen in the

* The Company instructions made provision for the 20-ton *Discovery* to remain in Virginia; and since it saw service in subsequent campaigns against the Indians, the tiny vessel may be said to have been the first American navy, although the first American-built ship, the *Virginia*, was constructed at Sagadahoc, *supra*, p. 48.

king's ears and about their necks come from these shells, we know the banks." ⁴

EXPLORATIONS

Soon after landing, Admiral Newport prepared to carry out instructions to explore the "king's river." On this expedition he took with him George Percy, Gabriel Archer, John Brooks, Thomas Wotton, and John Smith—the last named still a prisoner in Newport's custody—together with a number of mariners. The first day's journey carried them some thirteen miles to a point called Winauk, where Indians were met and where native dances and entertainment were accorded the English visitors. The next day sixteen miles were covered to an island where there were many wild turkeys and other birds. Here they came upon eight savages in a canoe of whom Newport sought information about the river. When inquiries were made about the upper reaches of the James, one of the Indians described it "with his foot," presumably in the sand. Thereupon Archer "gave him a pen, and paper, showing first the use" thereof, thus repeating or improving upon an experience described by Archer in his earlier sojourn in northern Virginia, *supra*, p. 26.*

Quirauk was the native name for the Blue Ridge mountain range, but the Indians' assertion as to an ocean immediately beyond was probably suggested by the wishful questioning of the whites. One of the Indians met at this time was named Navirans and deserves a place in American history. Navirans took a great liking to "our Admiral," which was heartily reciprocated. He followed the expedition by land, when he was not actively supplying his new friends with various foods and spring fruits. Finally, at his request, he was allowed to sleep in the boat with the English.

On May 23, the company reached what is now the lower part of Henrico County, where the werowance was Arahatec, "a King subject to Powhatan." Here arrived a second Indian werowance, then thought to be "the great Powhatan" himself, but who was "Tanx" or "little" Powhatan. "Him we saluted with silence; sit-

* *Ibid.*, IV, 41. During the voyage, Tindall made a survey or "draught of our River," part of which may have been based on this sketch.

ting still on our mats, our Captain in the midst." In the course of the proceedings, Archer called upon the Indian draughtsman to sketch again his map of the river. This was submitted to "King Arahatec," who certified to its accuracy. After leaving what the English called "Arahatec's Joy," because of the "pleasure and joy we took of our kind entertainment and for the comfort of our happy and hopeful discovery," they soon arrived at the Falls.

The next day Newport offered entertainment to Tanx Powhatan and Arahatec, which, like sundry such meetings between the English pioneers and the savages, came near to tragedy because of a trifling incident. As usual, it grew out of the natives' irresistible urge for theft, and the account of this particular instance is worth reproducing. In the presence of both werowances, "it fell out, that, we missing two bullet-bags, which had shot and divers trucking [trading] toys in them, we complained to their kings, who instantly caused them all to be restored, not wanting anything. Howbeit, they had divided the shot and toys to at least a dozen several persons, and those also in the islet over the water. One also, having stole a knife, brought it again upon his command, before we supposed it lost, or had made any sign of it." To this the narrator added that Newport "made known unto them the custom of England to be death for such offences,"⁵ a "custom" which the savages must have thought a barbarous penalty to pay for a clever sleight of hand.

After Arahatec's departure, "little" Powhatan, who "brought of his dyet," was entertained "familiarly [informally] without sitting in his state as before." In Archer's account there were discreet references to over-indulgence by royalty in the "hott dryncks" served by the English;⁶ but the story has been told more frankly by Sir Walter Cope, who wrote that the werowance had become alarmed over the after-effects, for fear he had been poisoned. The English, however, told him that he would be well the next day. Since it all came about as foretold, the visitors suddenly acquired a reputation as medicine men; for upon the werowance's "telling his countrymen thereof, they came apace, olde men and olde women, upon every belliach to him [Newport] to know when they should be well."⁷

Having reached the "overfall," or the limit of navigation at the

present site of Richmond, Admiral Newport set up on an "islet" there a cross inscribed "Jacobus Rex, 1607," with his name beneath as leader of the expedition. This was a sign to other Christian nations that the English had prior rights of possession; but when the Indians inquired as to its meaning, Newport blandly offered an explanation that was, in a double sense, a 'white lie.' In short, Newport told the savages "that the two arms of the cross signified King Powhatan and himself . . . which cheered Navirans not a little."⁸

On the way downstream, Newport was entertained by the Queen of the Appamattocks. Her Archer described as a "fatt, lustie, manly woman. She had much copper about her neck; a crownet of copper upon her hed. She had long, black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle; which only part was covered with a deare's skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woe-men attending on her, adorned much like herselfe (save they wanted the copper)." The next observation is unexpected, for this pioneer American diarist added, apparently in terms of modern small restaurant slang, italics inserted: "Here we had our accustomed *eates*, tobacco, and welcome."

Near the close of the journey, Captain Archer set down still further praise of "Navirans, our kind consort," as revealed in the following story:

There was an olde man with King Panaunche . . . who we understood to be a hundred and ten yeres olde; for Navirans, with being with us in our boate, had learned me so much of the languadg, and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I could make him understand me, and perceive also wellny in any thing. But this knowledge our captain gott by taking a bough, and, singling off the leaves, let one drop after another, saying, "Caische"; which is, "ten." So, first Navirans tooke eleven beanes, and tolde them to us, pointing to this olde fellow; then a hundred and ten beanes; by which he answered to our demand for ten yeres a beane, and also every yere by itselfe.*

When Newport had returned to within a few miles of "James Fort," Navirans made excuse to leave the party, despite the utmost

* "King Pamunkey" was at that time the only name the English knew for Opechancanough, who became the moving spirit behind two great massacres. It is interesting to note that the narrator described him as lacking in the native dignity of the other savages.

urgings of the English. This sudden change in the Indian's behavior caused Newport to become suspicious of trouble, and he hurried to the fort to find that only the day before the savages had assaulted the settlement in a fierce attack that had "indured hott about an hower."

INDIAN HOSTILITY

The Virginia Indians of 1607 must have heard of the great expedition headed by de Ayllon in 1526. Some of those living must have recalled the reprisal of Menendez within the Chesapeake Bay at late as 1572; and such a supposition appears confirmed by the fact that in 1634 the Maryland colonists, suspected of being "Was-paines", *i.e.*, Spanish, hastened to explain that the Waspaines were their enemies.⁹ It was natural, therefore, that the savages, foreseeing possible supplanting or subjection, should wish to drive out the English before they became too strongly entrenched; so that in this connection there is significant comment found in Sir Walter Cope's letter to the Earl of Salisbury (*op. cit.*) in which Sir Walter, referring to Newport's account, observed: "The people used our men well untill they found they began to plant and fortify."¹⁰ On the other hand, Tanx Powhatan had "made answer" to his people that they should not "be offended" as long as the English "hurt you not, nor take anything away by force." A few years later, Strachey wrote that: "Noe Spanish intention shalbe entertayned by us, neither to root out the naturalls, as the Spaniards have done in Hispaniola and other parts, but only to take from them these seducers"—meaning the quiyoughquisocks, whom Strachey compared with the ancient "priests of Baal or Belzebub." If these only were got rid of, he declared that no more Indian children would be sacrificed according to their savage rites; and that conversion, with "civilitie," would certainly follow, with both races living amicably together.¹¹

There were no Indian villages within several miles of Jamestown, which accorded with Newport's ideas as to avoiding clashes with the natives. The nearest Indians were the Paspaheghs at the mouth of the Chickahominy. Although there has been preserved no record of purchase in 1607, nevertheless some agreement had

been effected, for in 1610 we find a reference to a previous sale by the werowance of Paspahgeh of "land to inherit and inhabit," which could hardly mean anything other than the original purchase by the English of the Jamestown site.¹²

Returning to the contacts with the natives at Jamestown, Captain Percy noted that on the very first night after the landing savages were seen. These, however, "ran away" when an alarm was sounded. Naturally, the settlers did not welcome visitors who were notoriously capable of surprise assaults. On May 18, Wochinchopunk, "King of Paspahgeh," with a hundred armed savages, entered the fort. On this occasion, care and good fortune saved the settlers from possible massacre. By way of precaution the English held to their guns, despite the urgent signs made by Wochinchopunk "to lay our arms away." As it happened, fortune favored in that a general fight did not result from still another example of the Indian penchant for "imbezzling"; for while the savages "were in a throng in the fort, one of them stole a hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed." The Englishman "took it from him by force and also struck him over the arm." When "another savage came fiercely at our man," the English prepared to fire their pieces, of which the natives as yet were "sore afraid." And so the werowance "went suddenly away with all his company in great anger."¹³

Despite this alarming episode, the adventurous spirit of the settlers knew no curb. This was illustrated by the following incident which in itself is of no importance except as it portrays the character or courage of the first colonists; for the day after the Paspahgeh incident, Captain Percy and several others found a path through the flowers, brush, and thick honeysuckle. This path they followed, "to know whither it would bring us." * After several miles, they entered an Indian "town" which was half deserted in that the warriors had gone hunting with the werowance of Paspahgeh, the angry visitor of the day before. The small company, bold but watchful, returned only when they saw a savage run quickly into the woods, apparently to "call some companie, and so betray us." Two days later, the same wily chief sent forty of

* The use of the word "trail" for what the early English colonists called "path" is an anachronism. "Trail" entered the American scene in the West nearly two centuries later.

his men with a deer, "to our quarter," who "fain would have lain in our fort all night." *

It was on May 26, during Newport's absence, that "above two hundred" savages with their werowance, Wochinchopunk, "gave a very furious assault to our fort," which would have encompassed "our overthrow had not the ship's ordnance, with their small shot, daunted them." When the combat was over, it was found that eleven settlers had been wounded, one fatally, and a boy killed. It was further reported that "Foure of the Counsell, that stood in front, were hurte in mayntayning this forte; and our president, Mr. Wynckfeild (who shewed himsele a valiant gentleman) had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte." The Indians sustained undetermined losses from the settlers' small shot; but for weeks they continued to hover around, so that every now and then some planter or worker would fall victim to a stealthy arrow. During this time the settlers were virtually under a state of siege, and could go forth only when in force.

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST SUMMER

It appears that in the twelve days that had passed between the landing on May 14 and the Indian attack of the twenty-sixth, the encampment or "fort" had not been sufficiently protected by a palisade. For this President Wingfield was sharply censured in Smith's narrative; but many things had to be done in these twelve days and there must be considered the insufficiency of the implements available for cutting, sharpening, and driving into the ground of pales or small tree trunks of the requisite strength and thickness. Many of the tools were injured in digging up the tough sassafras roots for shipment. On the other hand, the narrow escape

* Archer, *Relatyon of the Discovery of Our River*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 54-55. The settlers and savages exchanged information of value as to Indian arrows and English "targets" in the following tests: "One of our gentlemen having a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it up against a tree, willing one of the Savages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorough, or better; which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him up a steel Target; he shot again, and burst his Arrow all to pieces, he presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage, so he went away in great anger."—*Cf.* Percy's Discourse, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV, 1688.

of all concerned caused the work of fortifying to be greatly accelerated. Smith, himself, after his reflections on the alleged sloth of Wingfield, summarizes the "toyle wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workemen adaies, watch al night, resist our enimies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corne."¹⁴

We have at this point a journal of current activities that bears the earmarks of verisimilitude in its relation, partly because of its naturalness and simplicity. May 28, two days after the great attack, Gabriel Archer records that, "We laboured" in palisading "our forte." This the Indians sought to interrupt, for on the next day, "The salvages gave on againe, but with more feare; not daring approche scarce within musket-shott. They hurt not any of us; but finding one of our doggs, they killed him. They shott above forty arrowes into and about the forte." *

On Saturday, the thirtieth, "We were quiet." Sunday's note is graphic: "They came lurking in the thickets and long grasse" . . . whence came Eustace Clovell, who had ventured forth beyond the guard. Bearing six arrows in his body, Clovell ran into the fort "crying 'arme, arme!' He lyved eight dayes, and dyed." "On June 1, some twenty appeared and shot divers arrowes . . . and rann away." June 2 and 3 were reported "quiet" insofar as Indian alarms were concerned, but the diary recorded further fortifying, clapboard cutting, and the setting of corn. On Thursday, the fourth, three savages "had, most adventurously, stollen under our bullwark, and hidden themselves in the long grasse. Spyed a man of ours going out to do naturall necessity; shott him in the head, and through the clothes in two places." What happened, or how much, to the man's head is not recorded, the diarist showing greater interest in the fact that the other two arrows "missed the skin." The fifth, sixth, and seventh went by without attack. On the eighth: "Mr. Clovell dyed, that was shott with six arrowes sticking in him"; and we wonder if the "chirurgeon" had been unable to extract the barbs, or if they were poisoned, according to

* Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 55. The Indians indicated a marked antipathy for the English mastiffs, not so much, perhaps, because of their bite but on account of their bark, which gave the settlers warning, *infra*, p. 306.

the methods the savages had demonstrated to Newport's party on the journey to the Falls.

Anything that tasted sweet or spicy always called for notations, as on the ninth: "In cutting downe a great oke for clapboard, there issued out of the hart of the tree the quantity of two barricos [kegs] of liquor, in taste as good as any vyneger, save a little smack it tooke of the oke." This find of a vinegarish substance was considered important enough to claim for a "like accident" the entire attention of the diarist three days later.

The thirteenth was unlucky, for Matthew Fitch ran upon eight savages lying among the long grass. He was "shott in the breast, somewhat dangerously." That morning "our admiral's men got a sturgeon of seven feet long," which Newport gave to the colonists. On the fourteenth Navirans appeared and offered the obvious suggestion that the settlers should "cutt downe the long weeds rounde about our forte, and to proceede in our sawing." Perhaps the sawing had been interrupted by Indian ambuscades, and perhaps the high weeds outside were cut, for the journal of the fifteenth records: "We wrought upon clapboarde for England." That day, according to Captain Percy, the fort was finished. He described it as "triangle-wise, having three bulwarks at every corner, like a half moon, and four or five pieces of artillery mounted in them."¹⁵

On the sixteenth, there was reported a "villainous plot" of the "Tapahanauks to inveigle Newport into shoal water on the south side of the James. When Newport rejected their blandishments they went away "laughing." June seventeenth to the twentieth carried the same notation "No accident"; and then on Sunday, the twenty-first, after a communion, the journal closed with the statement that Newport "dined ashore with our diet, and invited many of us to supper as a farewell."¹⁶

The departure of "Our Admiral" marks the close of the glamorous period of initial expectations. Much, or all, of this first enthusiasm has been lost to us in historical narrative, largely because of the almost exclusive emphasis laid by the early writers on the miseries that followed, with intermittent alleviations, from Newport's departure in June, 1607, to the coming of Lord Delaware in

1610. Nevertheless, despite the ills, physical, political, and social, which brought the colony near extinction on several occasions, the settlement managed heroically to survive, thanks to its supporters in England and the hardihood of those who saw it through. This determination was particularly true of those who endured the period of severest adversity in the colony; and then, after having had opportunity to forswear its hardships, by reason of visits to the mother country, returned to give their services to the colony. Of six notable characters who shortly visited the mother country, Wingfield and Smith never again saw Jamestown; on the other hand, Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin not only returned to Virginia, but gave their lives to the enterprise, while Newport repeatedly brought supplies.

When Admiral Newport set sail for the mother country with the *Sarah Constant* and the *Goodspeed* bearing lumber, sassafras roots, samples of mineral earth, and a few indifferent pearls from "muskels" or oysters, he left behind about one hundred pioneers acting under the authority of a council of which Smith was now a member. At Jamestown the first councillors would have excluded him from the governing body, partly because of the charges brought against him of inciting a mutiny on the voyage—an incident which cannot be treated in detail because the evidence in the case was suppressed by the Reverend Samuel Purchas, who edited Percy's narrative. In consequence, the guilt or innocence of Smith is largely a matter for conjecture. As a royal appointee, however, he could not be ignored; so, after thirteen probationary weeks, Newport was instrumental in securing his release. Consequently, on June 20, just before Newport's departure, Smith was given his liberty and allowed a place in the Council.*

Ten days before this, Archer's diary paid a sincere tribute to Newport's leadership in declaring that the Admiral had showed "himselfe no lesse carefull of our amyty and combyned frendship," and that the Admiral had "wonne our harts by his fervent perswasyon to uniformity of consent and callmed that (out of love to him) with ease, which I doubt, without better satisfactyon, had

* Smith referred to the "oration" or formal address made at the time of the swearing in of the other members of the Council. This oration, or arraignment, gave the reasons for his confinement, but it is, unfortunately, lost.

not contentedly ben carried. We confirmed a faythfull love one to another; and in our harts, subscribed an obedience to our superyors this day.”¹⁷ Wingfield’s journal records as of June 22 (O. S.) the departure of Newport who took with him the first descriptions of the colony, together with sundry writings by individual pioneers. Wingfield then and there undoubtedly expressed the feelings of the company when he added that they “made many prayers to our Almighty God” for their pilot-commander’s good “passadge and safe retorne.”*

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

In the matter of religious services, the Jamestown pioneers were well provided, for in the person of “good Master Hunt” they had a duly appointed minister, which the Roanoke Islanders had lacked. It was recorded that Master Hunt held services every morning and evening and delivered sermons twice on Sunday. Because the evening sermon was omitted on one occasion, President Wingfield was accused of indifference; but he explained the omission on the ground that after the ritual had been completed Master Hunt had asked if it were his pleasure to have a sermon, to which Wingfield replied that “the men were weary and hungry, and if it pleased him [Hunt] we would spare him till some other time.”¹⁸

We do not know the words of the ritual employed by the Reverend Mr. Hunt; and, in the absence of such knowledge, it seems desirable at this point to quote passages from the first special prayer of which there is a record; *viz.*, that used under Acting Governor Dale, whose administration began four years later (1611-1616). Those parts which pertain particularly to the colony are as follows:

* The writings were: 1. A report from the Council in Virginia at Jamestown to the Council for Virginia at London, dated June 22, 1607, signed by Wingfield, Smith, Martin, Gosnold, Ratcliffe, and Kendall. 2. Archer’s (a) *Relatyon of the Discovery of Our River*; (b) “The Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia”; and (c) “A Brief Description of the People.” 3. Robert Tindall’s letter to Henry, Prince of Wales, dated June 22, 1607; his “dearnall [journal] of our voyage” (unpublished and apparently lost); and his “draughte [map] of our River.” 4. Letter of George Percy to a Mr. Warner. 5. Letter of “a Dutchman” to John Pory. The last two letters are lost.

And now O Lord of mercie, O Father of the spirits of all flesh, looke in mercie upon the Gentiles who yet know thee not, O gracious God be merciful to us. . . . And seeing thou hast honored us to choose us out to beare thy name unto the Gentiles; we therefore beseech thee to bless us, and this our plantation, which we and our nation have begun in thy feare, and for thy glory.

For the most part, the prayer is expressed in the classic phraseology of the Anglican ritual, but every now and then there are passages, in which, for the benefit of the congregation, the preacher informs the Deity of contemporary conditions, such as: "We know, O Lord, we have the diuel and all the gates of hel against us, but if thou, O Lord, be on our side, we care not who be against us." Further modifications of the ritual to meet new conditions are seen in the hope that:

Our lights may so shine before these heathen, that they may see our good works, and so be brought to glorify thee our heavenly Father . . . and seeing by thy motion and work in our harts, we have left our warm nests at home, and put our lives into our hands principally to honour thy name and advance the kingdom of thy son . . . and so blesse us Lord, and so prosper all our proceedings, that the heathen may never say unto us, where is now your God. . . . And whereas we have by undertaking this plantation undergone the reproofs of the base world, insomuch as many of our owne brethren laugh us to scorn . . . let not the rod of the wicked fal upon the lot of the righteous. . . . That when the heathen do know thee to be their God, and Jesus Christ to be their salvation, they may say, blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English nation.¹⁹

All accounts testified to the exalted character and unselfish labors of "good Master Hunt, our preacher," of whom it was said that: "Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any; and till as long as he could speake, he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist; whose soul questionless is with God."

While from time to time we find incidental references to laymen reading or interpreting the Scriptures to the Indians, it appears that the savages around Jamestown, animated by their priests, were extremely hostile to ideas of conversion, of which we

have testimony in Secretary Strachey's account. Master Hunt's intentions with regard to the "principal purpose" set forth by the "wel-willers" of the enterprise were doubtless good, but his life in the colony was short. Possibly in the burning of his library, posterity lost the record of his labors with the "naturals." Navirans may have been his first convert to Christianity.

Late in June the colonists learned that the werowance on whom they had bestowed particular honors was not the "Great Emperor Powhatan," or Wahunsenacawh, who held in his allegiance a number of "kings." * This astute savage, with his seat on the York river, then known as the Pamunkey, sent a messenger to the fort directed to say that the hitherto hostile werowances at Paspahegh on the Chickahominy and at "Tapanah" on the south side of the James would be friends, as it so proved. No one has explained this turn of affairs; for Wahunsenacawh was not the type to be won over by presents such as President Wingfield gave his messenger. In any event, Wingfield recorded that on the fifth of September the king of Paspahegh "sent us a boy that was run from us," adding: "This was the first assurance of his peace with us," a peace, however, that proved of short duration. The Englishmen, though apparently undaunted by any and all fearsome reports then current, had evidently accepted the stories told them of Indians that ate human flesh, a conclusion that is indicated by an observation made by Wingfield; for, on the boy's return, the president of the Council set down the notation: "We found them no cannyballs."²⁰



"SUMMER SICKNESS"

Only two deaths occurred during August due to wounds inflicted by the savages. The chief cause of the heavy mortality that set in at this time came to be known as the "summer sickness" or seasoning. While no one yet may be sure what principally consti-

* *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 77-78. It should be noted that "Powhatan" is a place, rather than a proper name. "His proper right name, which they salute him with (himself in presence)," wrote Secretary Strachey in his *Travaile into Virginia* (p. 48), is "Wahunsenacawh." The word *Powhatan* could have applied to any werowance living at the "falls in a current." Wahunsonocock is another spelling of this Algonkian word, and it appears he was also called Ottaniack and Mamanatowick.

tuted this seasoning, the fact that it was recurrently epidemic in the summer months, chiefly around or about lowland marshes, points pretty clearly to malaria in a particularly virulent form. When frost came, the mosquito disappeared and the surviving settlers were usually restored to health. There is, of course, the possibility of other diseases that might well have added to the total mortality. Typhoid has been suggested as a factor, together with a weakening sameness of diet insufficient in certain essential vitamins. In this first summer, disease was so prevalent that at one time there were but "six able men in our towne," while President Wingfield carried out the instructions of the London Company in keeping the Indians at a distance so that they would not see the sick and dying, especially during the time when the "living were scarce able to bury the dead." Almost every day in August one or more deaths were reported. The greatest loss was that of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who was given military honors, "having all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot." * Captain John Martin lost his son, as forty settlers died in August and more in September. To these ills there was added a shortage of food, and for some time the daily allowance consisted of a "small Can of barley sod [boiled] in water, to five men a day"; while their drink was river water, which was brackish at high tide.

When it seemed that all would perish of starvation, or at the hands of the savages, a seeming miracle happened; for "It pleased God (in our extremity) to move the Indians to bring us Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh us, when we rather expected they would destroy us." Captain Percy's statement is corroborated by Wingfield as follows: "In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieve us with corne and fleshe, that, in three weekes, the President had reared upp XX men able to worke." †

* "God's only mercy," wrote Wingfield, "did now watch and ward for us, but the President hid this our weakness carefully from the savages, never suffering them, in all this time, to come into his town."

† According to Captain Smith, a well "of excellent sweete water" was dug some time in 1609.—Arber, I, 154. The fact that the ailing settlers recovered after eating so heartily would seem to preclude typhoid as a major cause of the casualties suffered. After mentioning the good health enjoyed by Lane's colonists at Roanoke Island from August, 1585, to June, 1586, when Raleigh's deputy reported to Hakluyt, "wee had not one sicke since we touched land here," Dr. M. F. Boyd significantly observes that

As an offset to Smith's presentation in putting the blame on his associates in the Virginia venture, it is important to quote the testimony of Captain Percy, who blames circumstances beyond their control, whilst referring to the difficulties which had produced dissension among explorers and colonists struggling under strange conditions. "If we truly consider," says Percy, "the diversity of miseries, mutinies and famishment which have attended upon discoveries and plantations in this our modern times, we shall not find our plantation to have suffered alone," whereupon he showed his knowledge of earlier attempts at settlement by citing what happened to Laudonniere in Florida, and sundry Spanish colonies and expeditions in South America.*

In the later narrative of Secretary William Strachey, a particularly keen eyewitness of Jamestown events during much of this pioneer period, we find the case more fully stated than anywhere else. Strachey blames the unwholesome site; and then, quite unwittingly, suggests a possible clue to the origin of the summer sickness. "True it is," he wrote, "I may not excuse this our Fort, or Jamestowne, as yet seated in somewhat an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the River." After reciting sundry other details as to location, water supply, and so forth, Strachey refers particularly to the fact that the settlers were afflicted with "Flixes and Agues . . . all of which (if it had bin our fortunes to have seated upon some hill, accommodated with fresh springs and cleere ayre as doe the Natives of the country) we might have I beleeeve well escaped."²¹ In short,

"these colonists were largely, if not wholly, recruited from Raleigh's native country of Devon, which appears to lie outside the endemic limits of English malaria." With respect to Jamestown, on the contrary, Dr. Boyd writes, "Most of the colonists came from London or its vicinity which at that time would appear to have been a highly endemic center."—M. F. Boyd, *An Introduction to Malaria* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 7-8. Before the modern subsoil tile drainage system was installed at Jamestown, "breeding places of *Anopheles quadrimaculatus* were of considerable extent on the island itself."—Dr. Louis L. Williams of U. S. Public Health Service, in letter to author, November 27, 1940. Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton lays stress upon the considerable likelihood of typhoid.—*Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1930), Chapter VII. Since Percy mentioned "swellings" as well as fevers and "flixes," Dr. Blanton has also suggested the presence of beriberi, a disease resulting from dietary deficiencies.—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

* Cf. Percy, "A Trew Relacyon," in *Tyler's Quarterly*, Vol. III. In his "Discourse," Wingfield went further for his precedents by citing the beginnings of Rome when Romulus and Remus quarrelled, with fatal results to the latter—over a trifle.

if Archer's Hope had been selected, the first settlers might have avoided much or all of this sickness. Continuing the theme, Strachey unwittingly gives what seems to be the solution of the origin of the trouble:

Howbeit, as we condemne not Kent, in England, for a small town called Plumsted continually assaulting the dwellers there (especially new commers) with Agues and Fevers; no more let us lay scandall, and imputation upon the Country of Virginia, because the little Quarter wherein we are set down (unadvisedly so chosed) appears to be unwholesome, and subject to many ill ayres, which accompany the like marish places.²²

Consultation with modern authorities on epidemics has developed the opinion that malarial germs were brought over from England by some of the first settlers. These infected the swarms of mosquitoes, which in turn infected colonists seated beside the marshes; for *Anopheles quadrimaculatus*, the malaria-bearing species, does not abound in higher terrain, especially where the drainage is good. This insect was known to the pioneers as a "long-tailed gnat"; and its germ-host qualities were not discovered until the close of the nineteenth century. In fact, with respect to alleged atmospheric effects, an American historian, as late as 1896, expressed a view almost identical with that which the first settlers held nearly three centuries before, when, in referring to the diseases and mortality at Jamestown, he wrote: "In summer the extensive marshes close at hand poisoned the surrounding air with the germs of fever," as the Englishmen soon discovered to their cost.²³

DISSENSIONS IN THE COUNCIL

Shortly after Newport had sailed, George Kendall was put off the Council. Kendall, of whose previous record little is known beyond his soldiering in the Netherlands, was charged with conspiracy, condemned and shot, largely on evidence given by James Read, the blacksmith. It is impossible to say whether the verdict

was a just one, or if Kendall was hastily convicted as a scapegoat for the plotting of some one else.*

After the departure of Newport, the execution of Kendall, and the death of Gosnold, there were but four of the original Council left in the colony; and sundry charges were at this time brought against President Wingfield. The principal accusations were misappropriation of supplies, malfeasance in office, and preparing to take off for England in the pinnace along with Kendall and others. Smith's account pictures himself as returning to Jamestown just in time to take the conspiracy in hand and suppress it, albeit Captain John Ratcliffe was on the spot as President of the Council, having succeeded Wingfield in that office.²⁴ In one of Smith's accounts, Wingfield and Kendall were "living in disgrace, (seeing al things at randome in the absence of Smith)" who "unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of fauken balls and musket shot he forced" the conspirators to "stay or sinke in the river."

In contrast, however, with the Smith account of a pitched battle between land forces led by him against armed rebels holding the colonists' only sea-going ship, the story, under Wingfield's treatment, indicates an argument that brought the deposed President into conference with the other councillors. At the time of the altercation, Wingfield was on board the *Discovery*, and the disputants were evidently shouting at each other across some breadth of water. The councillors on land, however (presumably Ratcliffe, Smith, and Archer), would accept none of Wingfield's propositions; but, as Wingfield put it, "made divers shot at me in the Pinnacle"; whereupon, "seeing their resolutions," Wingfield "went ashore to them."

Wingfield was brought to public trial, and in this pioneer American court both sides pleaded their cases, in part, on legal

* Smith reported the matter as follows: "Our president [Ratcliffe] having occasion to chide the [black]smith [Read] for his misdemeanor, he not only gave him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles. For which rebellious act, the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but uppon the ladder, continuing very obstinate, as hoping uppon a rescue, when he saw no other way but death before him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy; for which Captaine Kendall, as principal, was by a Jury condemned and shot to death." In his *Generall Historie*, Smith states Kendall was shot after an alleged conspiracy with Wingfield.

technicalities: Wingfield, for example, on the ground that he was being illegally deposed, since the charter called for a Virginia Council of thirteen members, whereas but three councillors were passing judgment on him. The king's plan of government, however, gave power to the majority of the Council to depose the President or fellow-councillors, and the three then voting represented a majority of the Council as constituted, and only seven councillors had been appointed originally. Incidentally, Wingfield quaintly expressed the idea that the members of the Council should "be more sparing of law until we had more wit or wealth; that laws were good spies [*sic*] in a populous, peaceable, and plentiful country, where they did make the good men better, and stayed the bad from being worse." *

The fact that Wingfield, by his own testimony, proffered "£100 towards fetching home the colony," if the company were willing to "give over the action," is evidence of importance against him. It was, to all appearances, in the nature of a bribe, besides being construed as a motion to abandon the enterprise.

According to Wingfield's account of his trial, which began on September 12, President Ratcliffe, after an address which stated the general reasons for this deposing, brought a number of charges about the allotment of food, such as that of serving "foul corn," of which Ratcliffe produced a sample "out of a bag"; and it is an interesting point that Ratcliffe showed it "to the company," indicating thereby that the trial was not a star chamber affair, but open for all to see and hear. The next item throws light upon the sensitiveness of Captain Smith, who "started up" with the assertion that Wingfield had said "though we were equall heere, yet, if he were in England," his servant would demean himself in association with Smith. Nothing seemed to arouse Smith's resentment more than intimations belittling his claims to command or social ranking.²⁵

Rightly or wrongly, it appears that trial proceedings were going

* *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90. After Wingfield was deposed, Gabriel Archer was chosen recorder, in which office he seems to have combined the duties of secretary, clerk, and commonwealth's attorney. It may be noted that in his trial Captain George Kendall had also appealed to a technicality in claiming that President Ratcliffe could not legally impose sentence, since the latter's real name was Sicklemore. The objection was allowed, and Martin was called upon to pronounce the judgment of the court.

badly for Wingfield. It was brought out that the affairs of the magazine or storehouse had not been handled in such fashion that the deposed president could account for goods dispensed; in fact, Wingfield admitted he had only his word to show how some of the supplies had been handed out. As he himself said: "I likewise, as occasion moved me, spent them [the goods] in trade, or by gift, amongst the Indians."²⁶

A number of accusations were of a trivial nature, following the contemporary custom of citing as long a list of alleged offenses as could be devised. In answer to a charge concerning religion, Wingfield stated that before setting out for Virginia he had "sorted many books" in his house, "amongst them a Bible." The Bible and the other books, he declared, were sent up to London in a box or trunk with "divers fruits, conserves, and preserves"; but in England the trunk was broken into, and he charged that the sweet-meats were eaten by the man to whom all was entrusted, while he was not certain as to whether the Bible was likewise "ymbeaziled or mislaid."

The trial was not brought to a verdict, for, in the midst of proceedings, President Ratcliffe asked the defendant if he would abide the judgment of the Virginia Council or appeal to the king. Whereupon Wingfield, seeing his opportunity, stated he "did appeal to his Majesty's mercy." The Council then committed him "to the master of the Pinnacle with these words: 'Looke to him well; he is now the King's prisoner.'" ²⁷

Wingfield may have been better adapted for the active life of a soldier than for leadership in a pioneer "plantation." Yet discipline was essential. When, for example, "runnagates" were sent back by the Indians, Wingfield grimly observed that "at their retorne" they were "well rewarded," and for that reason "they take little joye to travell abroad without passports."²⁸ Again, since many of the settlers were ill and all at times hungry, they naturally listened to rumors that the President had appropriated special rations out of the common store, whether he did so or not; and it seems from the testimony, including statements of Wingfield himself, that he was severe in some matters and inclined to laxness in others.

Counter accusations were laid by Wingfield against Smith, Ratcliffe, and Martin for conspiring to depose him from the Presi-

dency and the Council. He also complained of gross unfairness on the part of Gabriel Archer, who acted as prosecuting attorney in drawing up slander suits against Wingfield. Archer's presentations got judgments for definitely estimated defamation damages; in one case for John Smith and in another for John Robinson, whereupon Wingfield ironically declared that Ratcliffe, who presided, "did wear no other eyes or ears than grew on Mr. Archer's head." The court awarded damages in the Smith and Robinson cases equivalent to the amount of several hundred pounds, which we presume Wingfield never paid. The judgment was probably ignored or set aside upon his appeal to the Company Council on his return to England. Whether the Virginia court was fair or unfair in its procedure, President Ratcliffe's action gave the defendant opportunity for appeal; so that Wingfield might well have had reason to be grateful in thus receiving a trial in the open. A death penalty would almost certainly have been his portion had he so fallen out under other colonial regimes, if we are to judge by Spanish precedents.²⁹

Chapter IV

PIONEER PERILS

WHEN Newport set out on his return to England for more colonists and necessary supplies, he had fair reason to be as hopeful as the settlers. Having left the tiny *Discovery* at Jamestown, he brought back in the *Sarah Constant* and the *Goodspeed* samples of what appeared to be gold-bearing ore, with regard to which Sir Walter Cope promptly wrote to his Majesty's principal secretary of state, the Earl of Salisbury:

Right Honorable My Good Lord—If we maye beleve ether in words or letters, we are falne upon a lande that promises more than the lande of Promise. Instead of mylke we fynde pearle—and golde insteede of honye. Thus they say, thus they wryte—but experyence the wysest Scoole-mistress, must leade your Lordship, whose wysedome teaches to be of slow beleffe. Upon thys Tryall I presume you will buylde. Ther is but a barrell full of the earth, but ther semes a Kingdome full of the oare.¹

However, it was ordained that a “weed” rather than a mineral would bring work, prosperity, and expansion to Virginia; for it was not long before the hopeful Sir Walter was forced to write again to Salisbury: “This other day we sent you news of gold, and this day we cannot return you so much as copper.” In short, the ore proved worthless, and all expectations suddenly “turned to vapor”; for, following “four trials by the best experienced about the city,”² it was disclosed that the ore had no content of value.

Sir Thomas Smith represented those who were concerned chiefly with the prospect of material returns from Virginia. While his name had no little influence, he was not, in proportion to his great wealth, a liberal underwriter of the Virginia enterprise, and when profits did not flow from the venture, he fell into violent disagreement with the liberal majority, who had higher aims in view. At

this time, however, Smith thought he saw opportunities for immediate gain, and he promptly wrote a letter to Salisbury in which he blamed Admiral Newport for not bringing from Virginia the precise sample of ore "of which the first tryal was ther made." Also, he seems to have broken an engagement which Newport had had with Salisbury on the ground that Newport should make haste to return to Jamestown to procure the right ore, to which Sir Thomas added: "And for the better and more speedye effectinge the same we thoughte goode to provide a nymble pynpace to accompany the other shippe, wherein he may presently returne." *

Regardless of Smith's optimism, the disappointment about the ore was noised about and had its effect in the matter of financing; for we find Sir Walter Cope forecasting to James I and the Earl of Salisbury a considerable falling off of funds to be voted when "the wholl companye meets thys afternowne."³ Thereafter, the necessary support for American colonization was to come chiefly through the zeal of the proponents or "favourers" of the spread of Christianity and of national expansion rather than those who looked for profitable investments.

This early discouragement of the commercially minded adventurers draws attention to long-neglected records of the Elizabethan period which show that not a few observers had in the preceding century expressed skepticism about mineral returns from the North American continent. Christopher Carleill so reported as early as 1583; and his views, based upon the experiences of sundry explorers, were supported by Sir Francis Bacon.†

* Sir Thomas Smith to the Earl of Salisbury, August 27, 1607, *ibid.*, p. 47. Cope had particularly commended Newport to the Earl's attention as one "whose honesty and good deserts I have known many years," from which correspondence it likewise appears that Newport was due to report to Salisbury in person.

† Cf. Hakluyt, VIII, 141; also Bacon, *Works* (ed. Spedding, etc.), XII, 196. Although Hakluyt had introduced in his *Discourse on Western Planting* the ever-alluring prospect of precious metals, he must have known that the usually parsimonious Queen and sundry of her advisers had lost heavily on the importation of iron pyrites which Frobisher had described as ore of gold. Part of this ore was carefully stored in the Tower; but after the goldsmiths had finished their tests, the North American mineral was ultimately used as material for London paving.—Cf. Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), III, 391-394.

The golden-tinted tales told to English explorers by the American aborigines may be regarded as the original gold-brick swindle, in which the savages were the confidence men!

MATERIAL VERSUS HIGHER AIMS

At the time of early disappointment as to material returns, two documents, or state papers, were especially authorized or approved by the Council of the Virginia-London Company. In 1609, when the Sandys influence was beginning to be felt in the affairs of the Company, we find in the 9000-word pamphlet *Goodspeed to Virginia* the following passage in answer to the opinion "that this age will see no profit of this plantation." Freely admitting the charge, the author declared that to hold material considerations as a primary aim was altogether "too brutish," and he added that no one should "find delays, or fain excuses to withhold them from this employment for Virginia, seeing every opposition against it is an opposition against God, the King, the Church, and the Commonwealth."⁴

A contemporary and authoritative view of the difference between the Virginia-London Company and corporations created solely for commercial purposes was set forth by William Crashaw in an address delivered in February, 1610, before Lord Delaware and the London Company. Referring to the difficulty in raising money for the maintenance of the Virginia colony, Crashaw observed:

If other voyages be set afoot, wherein is certain and present profit, they run, and make means to get in: but this, which is of a more noble and excellent nature, and of higher and worthier ends . . . must seek them. There is indeed the plain necessity of this action for Virginia, the principal ends thereof being the plantation of a Church of English Christians there, and consequently the conversion of the heathen from the devil to God.⁵

Later in his address, Crashaw declared that "profit is the least and last end aimed at."

The British challenge to autocratic authority was noted by the Spanish government, and a council of war declared that all necessary force should be employed to keep the English out of Virginia because their proximity would "worry all the Indies and Indian trade, the more so if they introduce there the religion and liberty

of conscience which they profess." ⁶ On the other hand, Philip III was convinced that "the English were wasting money on a worthless region," ⁷ a view that was indeed fortunate for the colony, and one which Salisbury had taken pains to convey to his Majesty.*

In England Sir Thomas Roe illustrated the larger concept of future gain for church and realm; for he wrote at considerable length to the Earl of Salisbury, both as to a personal friend and a personage high in the councils of state. In this letter, Roe urged not only motives of enlightened self-interest in promoting the colony, but also and more particularly the consideration of so many heathen, whose conversion would constitute a "conquest of soules above the conquest of kyngdomes." He added the thought of "honor and profit to our Nation," in making "provincial to us a land ready to supply us with all necessary commodyties naturally wanting to us, in which alone we suffer the Spanish reputation and power to swell over us." ⁸

A sidelight on the idealistic concept is found in the Reverend Mr. Crashaw's denunciation of the cynical ridicule expressed in some of the current comedies. "The Divell raises up calumnies and slanders," he declared, while "Plaiers and such like" blow them about.⁹ This raillery was exemplified in *Eastward Hoe*, as Ben Jonson, John Marston, and George Chapman collaborated in making sport of the Raleigh-Gilbert attempts at colonization in the wilds of the Virginia continent:

Quicksilver: . . . Well, dad, let him have money; all he could anyway get is bestowed on a ship, nowe bound for Virginia. . . .

Security: . . . We have two fewe such knight adventurers; who would not sell away competent certenties to purchase, with any danger, excellent uncertenties? Your true knight venturer ever does it.¹⁰

The dramatists played upon the incredible tales of great wealth to be had of the American savages, who were represented as having all their household utensils made of "pure gould," while they amused themselves on high days and holidays by gathering "rubies and diamonds to hang on their childrens coates." "And then you shall live freely there, without sargeants, or courtiers, or lawyers,

* *Infra*, p. 92.

or intelligencers; only a few industrious Scots perhaps . . . I would a hundred thousand of them were there . . . for . . . we should find ten times more comfort of them there than here.”¹¹ The comedy is none too delicate in its choice of expressions; so, in quoting therefrom, a noted historian of the Victorian era employed discreet elision.¹² A later one, however, after his first chapter heading, went out of his way to focus attention on the expression so carefully omitted by his predecessor!¹³

SPANISH HOSTILITY vs. BRITISH DIPLOMACY

After the receipt of the first news from Jamestown, Don Pedro de Zuniga wrote to Philip III a series of letters in which he urged his royal master to have the English colony “up-rooted” immediately lest it threaten the power of Spain and ultimately rival her possessions in the New World. Among many such urgings, Zuniga wrote:

It will be serving God and your Majesty to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time, which is short enough for the purpose.¹⁴

In this connection, it should be noted that contention had arisen in the London Company as to sending the first supplies to Virginia, and there is considerable circumstantial evidence in Zuniga’s correspondence to indicate that certain members of the London Company were being used as dupes of the Spanish in order to delay action. Being informed as to the Council discussions by a “confidential person” * in that body, Zuniga was busy trying to see James I, who went from place to place, evidently to avoid meeting the issue that he knew would be presented by the Spanish ambassador. From pleading affairs of state to claiming an attack of fever, James I put off the interview until Admiral Newport had departed for Jamestown.

In order to allay the fears of Philip III, the Earl of Salisbury sanctioned a report to the effect that, after all, England was full of vagrants and vagabonds, who, if sent to Virginia, would doubtless perish there without constituting any menace to Spanish

**Supra*, p. 63.

power in the New World. For the benefit of Philip III this impression, like that of the poverty of the region, was diligently fostered by the English Ambassador at Madrid.

In England, on the other hand, declarations of the Virginia-London Company announced that the colonists must be selected with the greatest care on account of the reputation of the enterprise and the example that should be set the heathen. A fair summary of the "generality" of the colonists was that recorded by Master Crashaw, who wrote that the emigrants "be like (for ought that I see) to those are left behind, even of all sorts better and worse." ¹⁵

With respect to obtaining additional supplies for Jamestown, it should be borne in mind that England was rife with rumors of "faction" in the Sagadahoc colony of northern Virginia, whence many were then returning. This further tended to make it plain that the longer and larger aims of colonization emphasized by Hakluyt required extraordinary patience in England, with the strong probability of the loss of much capital and many lives until the settlers could take care of themselves. Sir Thomas Roe's plea for more aid on behalf of Jamestown appeals to the imagination: "I thinck every man's conscience will tell him there is a pyety to them that are there, gone upon promise of supply, or els exposed to a most unchristian and lamentable fortune"; and this patriotic "wel-willer" of the business reminded Salisbury that the latter was "Patron to this most christian and noble enterprise of plantation, a woorke, I hope, may bee a glory to your memorye." ¹⁶

Newport sailed for Virginia on October 7, and James I quickly recovered from the fortunate fever which prevented Zuniga's making his protest prior to the departure of the Admiral, who took ship in the *John and Francis* accompanied by Captain Francis Nelson in the *Phoenix*. He was bearing with him a number of colonists, known as the "first supply."

THE CAPTURE OF CAPTAIN SMITH

With respect to events at Jamestown, the most extensive material is presented in the several accounts by Captain John Smith.

At the risk of giving too much space to the accounts of the doings of an individual it seems essential to have Smith speak for himself at considerable length for several reasons: First, his material furnished the basis upon which, for over two hundred years, American historians built their exposition of the first permanent English settlement; second, his testimony has been increasingly brought into disputation; and third, by quoting his own words the reader may himself pass upon the credibility of the witness. This last point is of particular importance with regard to Smith's unfavorable opinion of his associates, at least some of whom are now known to have unjustly suffered from the aspersions cast upon their character and services. His narratives of Jamestown are given over almost entirely to his personal adventures; and because of their variations, any exposition thereof must be untangled from numerous differences in dates and data. This disentanglement, after no little labor and comparison of the texts, is herewith attempted.

Shortly after he had succeeded the deceased Thomas Studley as "cape-merchant," Smith tells of his first adventure in search of supplies. This involved a trip in the shallop to the Indian village of Kecoughtan. When the "naturals" there treated him despitefully, he responded in kind. First, he drove the savages into the woods, uncovered a quantity of corn, and then restrained his soldiers from the temptation of pillaging and of being caught off guard.¹⁷ The Indians returned to the attack "with a most hydeous noyse . . . Sixtie or seaventie of them being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly received them with their muskets loaded with Pistoll shot, that down fell their God [an idol, or "okee"] and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods." Presently, a priest (quiyoughquisock) returned to offer peace and redeem their "okee." Despite the vengeful character of the American Indian, Smith reported that the savages came back with every sign of joy and happiness, not only to give the Englishman the corn he wanted, but cheerfully to fetch him "Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread" and other commodities, while he rewarded their good behavior with beads, copper, and hatchets.¹⁸

To get food, Smith made "three or four" other journeys only to

find that what he so "carefully provided, the rest carelessly spent"; and he charged that Ratcliffe and Archer had intended "to have abandoned the country," which project he "curbed and suppressed," a statement which seems scarcely credible, since Archer and Ratcliffe subsequently had ample opportunity to have permanently "abandoned" Virginia on voluntary visits to England, yet both returned to offer up their lives in the venture. As Smith went up into the country on these expeditions in search of supplies, he found the savages so anxious to trade that he was able to bring back shallop-loads of corn, which, it seems, should have furnished the colonists with plenty of food for months to come. On the first two trips up the Chickahominy, Smith declared that the Indians "would follow me with their canowes, and for any thing gave it me [their corn] rather than returne it back." At one place two hundred savages were assembled with offers of corn, so that he "might have laded a ship," much less the shallop. Another group having heard of his coming, were ready, "with three or four hundred baskets."¹⁹

In spite of these astonishing acquisitions, the food again ran short, and Smith took occasion to contrast his achievements with the alleged failures of Captain Martin, who "made two journeys to that nation of Paspahagh, but each time returned with eight or ten bushels."²⁰ So he himself must go into the same territory on an extended trip up the Chickahominy. Having equipped himself with the pinnace and shallop and fifteen men, he plunged still farther into the Indian country by means of a canoe, accompanied by two men and two natives. Hereupon the doughty Captain came upon his most remarkable adventure, the story of which is here condensed with a view to clarification. Quoting from his *Generall Historie*, we read that:

Being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert . . . he was beset with 200 Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guide, whom he bound to his arme with his garters and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner.²¹

Smith asked his captors for their chief, who proved to be

Opechancanough. Whereupon the captive entertained his captors with a compass, by means of which "Globe-like Jewell," he demonstrated the "roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatness of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes* and many other such matters, they all stood amazed with admiration."²²

The reader of this narrative is naturally amazed that Captain Smith could discourse upon all these subjects with the savages, who, at this time, knew little, if any, English. If he spoke in the Indian tongue, it is equally a mystery how he could expound such abstractions in terms that he must have acquired in only a few weeks of exploration; for when he set out on the first of these trips, he had cited as one of his difficulties his "want of the language."²³

Notwithstanding his demonstration of the wonders of the universe, the savages:

Tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him: but the King holding up the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.²⁴ Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselves all in fyle, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked.*

At Orapax, Powhatan's seat, Smith was treated to royal entertainment, and if he told the tale to his companions on his return it must have set many hungry mouths to watering. Having conducted him "to a long house where thirtie or fortie tall fellows" guarded him, they brought him more bread and venison "then would have served twentie men." And here the narrator indulges

* *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397. Two of the alleged authors of this story of Smith's capture, Thomas Studley and Edward Harington, had died in August (1607), while all this took place in December—a point that does not disprove the story, for while the third writer, "R. Fenton," was not present, "J. Smith" was his own witness as the fourth and last-named contributor.

in a bit of humor as he interpolates: "I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more; and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him." *

In the course of his story, Smith declared that as the Indians were making preparations to assault Jamestown they sought his advice. "For recompence he should have life, libertie, land, and women." Thereupon he seized the opportunity to write his mind in a "Table booke . . . to them at the Fort" informing them what was intended, "how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for," while telling the "Salvages of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins," which "exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request, they went to James towne . . . and within three dayes returned with an answer."²⁵ The "paper that could speake" so impressed the natives that they made a show-piece of the captain and led him on visits to five Indian tribes upon the Rappahannock and the Potomac—"over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunkee: where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Conjurations." †

At last they brought him to "Powhatan their Emperor," to whom Opechancanough was subordinate:

Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat

* *Ibid.*, p. 397. Since the narrative is regularly presented in the third person, the sudden use of the first person in the humorous reference to the captive's appetite is puzzling. An additional touch represents an Indian, whom he mentions by name, presenting Smith with "his gowne" to "defend him from the cold" in "requital of some beads and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrival in Virginia."

† Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 398. It would seem that an excursion covering the territory from the York to the Potomac with all the stops and entertainments must have taken a very long while; and since it has been definitely established that Smith was held captive only from the second week in December, 1607, to January 1, 1608 (N. S.), the narrator, with what was then called "traveller's license," must have drawn upon the experiences of others.

like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck [*supra*, p. 70] was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laïd his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death.*

The above quotations are based largely upon Smith's *Generall Historie* because that presentation carries the dramatic story of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas, whereas the earlier narrative makes no mention of her role in the matter of his release. Those who have doubted the participation of "Matoaka," as she was known, have cited this addition to the original narrative as proof that the incident was an invention of Smith's fertile imagination, especially as it was not until she had been received at Court and had become famous that Smith told of her happy interposition. Others, who would preserve a pretty story which has delighted many generations of young Americans, declare that the mere fact of the earlier omission *proves* nothing—which is true. Logically, on the evidence available, we reach the conclusion that the Pocahontas incident will never be proved or disproved; but it may be added that the interposition of some member of an Indian tribe to save and adopt a prisoner was quite in accord with Indian customs.

In Smith's efforts to convince the Indians that he and the settlers

* *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400. At this time Pocahontas was, according to Smith's *True Relation* a "child of tenne yeares old."—Arber, I, p. 38. In his letter to Queen Anne, Pocahontas was represented as the "Kings most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeares."—Arber, II, p. 531.

at Jamestown were not Spaniards, we have further evidence that the Indians recalled or had heard of the descent of Menendez upon the Rappahannock in 1572 and his summary revenge for the murder of the Jesuit priests (*supra*, p. 29). In this matter Smith seems to derive no little satisfaction from a recital of how he deceived Powhatan by telling him that the cause of his coming was due to his escape from the wicked Spaniards, with whom he and his company had been fighting. "Extreme weather" had, he said, caused his party to seek safety in the Bay. Thereafter, he said, "our pinnace," the *Discovery*, "being leaky, we were enforced to stay to mend her, till Captain Newport his father," returned "*to conduct us away.*"²⁶

GABRIEL ARCHER, PROSECUTING ATTORNEY

During Smith's absence, there were interesting developments in Jamestown which throw light on the several characters concerned and which forecast, in a measure, marked changes in methods of government. Wingfield, Smith, and Martin favored autocratic military control; but Archer definitely inclined towards democratic processes. Without passing on his motives, it is clear that Archer won the hearty disapprobation of Wingfield and Smith, as expressed in their writings. In any event, Archer, a student of the law, sought a place as a member of the Council. With Smith absent, Ratcliffe and Martin were the only councillors at Jamestown; and the former, as president, "admitted" Captain Archer over the will of Martin. This, according to Wingfield, was "contrary to the King's instructions,"²⁷ but the legalistic recorder probably justified the proceeding on the basis of the president's right to "two voices," whereas Martin had but one.

This in itself is of little moment, but what Archer proposed has considerable interest in that he, evidently with Ratcliffe's support, was preparing to call a "parliament," or general assembly. The proposal was laid aside, however, on the arrival of Admiral Newport—for reasons not now known. Since the evolution of our American principles of representative government rests upon the development of the several colonial parliaments, it is quite worth while to record Archer's proposal, which comes down to us

through the testimony of his opponents. Wingfield reported the incident briefly as follows: Newport's "coming prevented a Parliament, which the new councilor, Mr. Recorder intended thear to summon. Thus error begot error."²⁸ While Wingfield thus disapproved of the assembly plan, Smith went further and derided such useless things as parliaments, petitions, admirals, recorders, and courts of plea,²⁹ with which he arbitrarily associated plays, interpreters, and chronologers. In short, regardless of royal instructions, Archer sought, at the beginning of the colony, to set up some form of colonial self-government; and it is worth noting that Captain Smith expressed his ridicule of a colonial parliament after the General Assembly at Jamestown had actually been established, and at a time when James I was attempting its abolition.*

According to Wingfield's *Discourse*, the proceedings against Smith followed immediately upon the latter's return to Jamestown; but we are almost as much at a loss for details as in the preceding trial of George Kendall. Wingfield testified that Archer instituted proceedings against Smith by "Levitical law."³⁰ According to the testimony of both Wingfield and Smith, the indictment charged Smith with being responsible for the death of the two men taken with him on his journey up the James. This, then, is the sum and substance of what seems to be known about the charge, or the procedure, until the coming of Newport, who either by the force of his leadership quashed the indictment or once more persuaded his fellow-councillors to set Smith free. At the same time, Newport brought about Wingfield's release from confinement on board the *Discovery*.†

Smith's accounts of the trial incident are at variance with each other. Wingfield testified that Newport's arrival "saved Mr. Smith's life," from which it would appear that Smith had been, in accordance with the Kendall precedent, indicted, tried, and con-

* Wingfield summarized his differences with Archer as follows: "Master Archers quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choise of the place for our plantation; because I misliked his lying out of our towne, in the pinnasse; because I would not sware him of the Councell for Virginia, which neyther I could doe or he deserve."—*Wingfield's Discourse*, Archer, *op. cit.*, I, xc.

† *Ibid.*, p. 95. Whether further charges were preferred against Smith or not will probably never be known. It has been suggested³¹ that Smith had disobeyed orders in going up the Chickahominy instead of the James, but of this there seems to be no actual proof.

victed. In his first account, Smith wrote, "In the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captain Newport, who arriving there the same night, so tripled our joy, for a while their plots against me were deferred." In his second account Smith altered the chronology, writing: "Captaine Newport got in, and arrived at James towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith." Finally, in his *Generall Historie*, Newport is not even mentioned, and Smith gives himself sole credit for vindication over his opponents in the passage:

Some, no better than they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, pretending that the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he [Smith] quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England.

Rejecting Smith's later accounts as in conflict with the testimony of others as well as his own, the fact that Newport annulled, or helped to annul, the action taken by the Council against Smith and Wingfield indicates the general recognition of the Admiral's influence whenever he was present at Jamestown to take part in proceedings. Unfortunately, Smith not only referred patronizingly to Newport as a mariner "hired only for our transportation,"³² but also accused him of being an encumbrance upon the treasury of the London Company because of the "unnecessary wages" paid him.³³ He accused Newport of dealing so freely with the savages as to "cut the throat of our trade,"³⁴ asserting that, on one occasion, for "20 Turkies," Newport delivered "immediately" some "20 swords."³⁵ In still another place Smith declared that he had ventured into the Indian country with "four men" only, "where Newport durst not goe with less than 120."³⁶

It is truly surprising that a brave soldier, such as Smith showed himself to be, would impute cowardice to an associate whose entire record showed the contrary, for Newport had faced danger and achieved distinction in two hemispheres and had died at sea in the far East when Smith set down these detractions. In fact, there was no other leader associated with the beginning of the colony quite the peer of Newport in point of services and reputa-

tion. Of the character of these services and his leadership we have ample proof; hence, the harshness of Smith's reflections upon others, of whom we know less, must now be taken with great reserve; and the various records which have come to light compel a recasting of estimates with respect to the relative merits of the early venturers in Virginia.

Chapter V

NEWPORT BRINGS SUPPLIES

ON JANUARY 2, 1608, Admiral Newport arrived at Jamestown on his third trip to America and his second to the site of the Jamestown settlements; and it is not difficult to imagine the warmth of the welcome accorded this great British seaman as he brought the first news out of England since the pioneers had left London in December, 1606. As stated, Newport had set out from England with Captain Francis Nelson. Subsequently alleging that he had encountered storms and contrary winds, Nelson had, when near the Capes, turned back to the West Indies in the *Phoenix*, and did not put in at Jamestown for several weeks thereafter. Fortunately for the colony, the bulk of the supplies and the greater number of colonists were with Newport on the *John and Francis*.*

Of the 104 men and boys in the original company at Jamestown less than half had survived. Of Newport's fellow-councillors, Gosnold and Kendall were dead, and Wingfield had been deposed from the presidency, as he, with Smith, labored under charges.

As if malaria, insufficient food, and almost constant Indian attacks or ambushes had not given the settlers their share of trouble during the preceding summer, a winter disaster now befell them five days after Newport's arrival in the form of a fire which burned so fiercely that the flames overleaped the space of some thirty feet between the houses and palisades to ignite the latter and destroy a principal means of protection against Indian attack. It appears that three dwellings were saved from the flames; but arms, bedding, and much of the private supplies and public stores were consumed.¹ This calamity took place in the midst of a cold so intense that it was known as "the Great Frost." Smith blamed the disaster on the new settlers, who "accidentally fired the quar-

* For the date of Newport's arrival here given see Francis Perkins' letter, March 28, 1608.—Brown, *Genesis*, I, 174-175.

ters,"² while Wingfield wrote: "The 7th of January, our town was almost quite burnt, with all our apparel and provision."³

Thereafter some of the colonists died from lack of shelter, and others suffered from frozen feet and hands. By a fortunate chance, we have the impressions of one of the new arrivals in the form of a letter that has come through the Spanish archives at Simancas in a late nineteenth-century retranslation into English from the Spanish translation supplied Philip III by Zuniga. Francis Perkins, the writer of the letter, addressed it to a member of the Cornwallis family that was afterwards prominent in the beginnings of Maryland, and also at Yorktown—in connection with quite a different kind of settlement. Perkins gives a vivid description of the suffering of the colonists from exposure and he tells of the freezing of the James river "almost from bank to bank, in front of our harbour, although it was there as wide as that of London," and that out of the ice they gathered fish that "could be fried in their own fat without adding any butter or such thing."

After the landing, which "took place on a Monday, there broke out on the following Thursday" the Great Fire in which, as Perkins relates, "all that my son and I possessed was burnt, except only a mattress which had not yet been carried on shore." Continuing, he asks:

Mr. William Cornwallis to send me for the value of ten pounds, such clothes as he may have that are worn out, whether it be large or small garments, doublets, trousers, stockings, capes, or whatever may appear fit to them, since the fire having burnt all we possessed, everything is needed and whatever may be sent will be useful . . . I beseech you, Sir, not to be offended by this my candor and daring boldness, but in your great kindness to remember me who am so far away and cut off from my friends, doing me at the same time the favor, in all reasonable things, to be kind to my wife, if in any emergency she should have recourse to you.⁴

This letter presents possibly the first American instance of a request that a friend 'use his influence' to get an appointment to office; for Perkins asked his correspondent to "have the goodness to negotiate" with Sir William Wade, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir George More, and the others,

"that I be appointed one of the Council here in Virginia, as much for my honor as that I may be better able to pay my debts." It is evident, therefore, that this Englishman had fallen upon straitened circumstances and that he hoped by going to the New World to avoid a debtor's prison in the Old. With a fresh start in Virginia, he anticipated settling his accounts and sending for the rest of the family when he had established a home for them. Of good stock, he and his son had been listed as "laborers" for the overseas passage. There is no evidence available that members of the Council received compensation; but the petitioner may have had in view perquisites accruing to the position.*

While evil spirits appear to have pursued the colony with disaster, good ones seemed on watch to preserve it. In the preceding summer, when starvation and disease had rendered the colony helpless against attack, had it come at that time, the Indians suddenly brought food; and in this winter of extreme cold, when the fire had destroyed their palisades, the savages did even more. As Francis Perkins expressed it: "Thanks to God we are at peace with all the neighbouring inhabitants of the country. . . . Their own great Emperor, or the Werowance, which is the name of their Kings, has sent us some of his people, that they may teach us how to sow the grain of this country and to make weirs to catch fish." Perkins also ventured to express the opinion that the land was "quite sufficient to support a million of inhabitants," then about a fifth of the current population of England. He sent back to England specimens of native fauna and flora; for, from the king down, Britons were interested in seeing or collecting such items. By way of illustration, the Earl of Southampton penned the following postscript to a letter addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, James I's principal secretary, December 15, 1609:

Talkinge with the King by chance I tould him of the Virginia Squirrills which they say will fly, whereof there are now divers brought into England, and hee presently and very earnestly asked me if none of them was provided for him and whether your Lordship had none for him, sayinge that hee was sure you would gett him one of them. I

* In 1610 the colony's secretary received remuneration, which may account for the subsequent rivalry for the appointment between William Strachey and the poet, John Donne. Strachey won, possibly through the influence of Sir Dudley Digges.

would not have troubled you with this but that you know so well how hee is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folkes you may furnish yourself to present him att his comminge to London which will not bee before Wensday next.⁵

After the fire we find that Admiral Newport was not only notable for prompt action but also for the employment of the mariners to promote the welfare of the colonists. The contemporary accounts give no details about the rebuilding of Jamestown, although we find that William Strachey, who arrived in the colony two years later, makes the statement that, "The houses first raised were all burnt by a casualty of fire . . . which since have been better rebuilt, though as yet in no great uniformity, either for the fashion or beauty of the street."

After some weeks of labor in restoration, Newport was free to pay a formal call upon Powhatan, in accordance with instructions from the London Council. The party was accompanied by Smith as guide, as well as by Matthew Scrivener, the newly appointed councillor out of England. We have from Wingfield no account of Newport's expedition, as he left the recital thereof to his commander in a gracefully worded statement, to the effect that since he had not accompanied the expedition and therefore knew of it only by hearsay, he would not "make any discourse thereof, lest I might wrong the great desart[s] which Captain Newport's love to the action hath deserved, especially himselfe being present, and best able to give satisfaction thereof." *

Whether Newport's report was among the lost London Company records we do not know; but Smith owned to none of Wingfield's compunctions as to infringing upon the Admiral's prerogatives. His story, as supposedly related by one Anas Todkill, is a portrayal of Smith as the principal person of an expedition in which Newport played a secondary role full of blunders, from which Smith was constantly rescuing him.

The last-dated notation of Wingfield's journal at Jamestown makes the statement that "Captayne Newport, haveing now dispatched all his business and set the Clocke in a true course (if so

* *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 97. Scrivener was evidently a man of some means, as he "adventured" the modern equivalent of around two thousand dollars, besides "venturing" his person.

the Councill will keep it), prepared himself for England upon the xth of April."

We learn nothing from Wingfield as to Newport's return cargo. If he loaded the *John and Francis* with false gold ore, as stated in the oft-repeated story told by Captain Smith, we have no confirmation of it. It seems certain that had there been a quantity of such ore on board, it would have been particularly noted by the alleged spy, Maguel, who mentioned ore of iron and copper.⁶ We may presume, therefore, that the two "refiners" whom Newport brought over had tested the alleged gold ore and either condemned it on the spot or suggested that a mere sample be returned to establish the point. According to Smith (*via* Anas Todkill), there was at Jamestown "no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine [*sic*] gold, loade gold . . . to fraught such a drunken ship with so much guilded durt."*

Wingfield and Archer returned with Newport to England. Both men must have appeared before the Council of the Virginia-London Company to answer charges, but the consequent proceedings of the Company have been lost. The simple fact, however, that Archer returned to Jamestown in command of one of the Company's ships offers circumstantial evidence that his conduct had given no offense, especially to the liberal group in the Company—a group that had prepared the new charter which ultimately enabled the Company to establish the representative institutions in Virginia which Archer, in some form, had proposed.†

Returning to England with Newport was a passenger given in the Spanish archives as "Francisco Maguel" (Francis Maguer or McGuire). He is described therein as an Irishman who had been

* Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 408. There is another objection to belief in the authenticity of Smith's picturesque account; for had all this effort been given to lading "phantastical gold," there would have been no time during Newport's brief stay to rebuild Jamestown, explore the York, and visit Powhatan. Since it appears that Smith's accounts borrowed liberally from the writings of others, he may in this instance have drawn upon the extravaganza of hopeful expectations that had led Frobisher to gather shiploads of worthless ore on the northern coast, *supra*, p. 88 n.

† Newport had sailed from Jamestown some ten days before Nelson, with the rest of the "first supply," arrived. Besides twenty-five persons classed as "gentlemen," we find representatives of various trades. There were six tailors, two goldsmiths, two refiners, and a jeweller. Two apothecaries had been sent over, doubtless to study native herbs with a view to investigating their medicinal qualities, concerning which there were many exaggerated reports. Also on the list were a gunsmith, a blacksmith, a cooper, a perfumer, a tobacco-pipe maker, and twenty unclassified laborers.

"eight months in Virginia"; and his sworn deposition reveals he was a spy in the employ of Spain. To Spanish authorities he reported as an eye-witness of some things, while on other matters he declared that he had them on hearsay. In the main, his description of the settlement and its environment is correct; and the following passage is worth quoting:

The Emperor [Powhatan] sent one of his sons [Namontack] to England, where they treated him well and returned him once more to his own country, from which the said Emperor and his people derived great contentment thro' the account which he gave of the kind reception and treatment he received in England.*

EVENTS IN ENGLAND

When Newport arrived in England, he was naturally under the impression that Nelson was lost at sea, since he had last seen him a short distance off the Virginia capes en route to Jamestown. The supposed loss of the *Phoenix* was discouraging and may have helped to hold back preparations for the expedition of Sir Thomas Gates, who had been given leave of absence from his military service in the Netherlands to conduct to Virginia a number of ships, supplies in plenty, and new settlers accompanied by women and children. Ultimately, Nelson brought back Smith's *True Relation* with "letters and charts" addressed to Henry Hudson, which described "a sea leading into the western ocean, by the north of the southern English colony." This, in turn, led to the discovery and naming of the Hudson river in the interest of the Dutch, thereby laying the basis for an invasion of Virginia south of the St. Lawrence.⁷

There were now in England four of the seven members of the

* Brown, *Genesis*, I, 396. In June, 1608, Ambassador Zuniga wrote to Philip III: "This Newport brought a little boy, who they say is the son of an Emperor in those Countries, and they have instructed him that when he saw the King [James I], he should not take off his hat, so that it has amused me to see how they esteem him."—*Genesis*, I, 172. Hamor reports Powhatan's speech to Thomas Savage that Namontack was one of Powhatan's "subjects," who "as yet has not returned, though many ships have arrived here from thence." Subsequently Powhatan complained to Hamor (Arber, II, 517) that he had not seen Namontack, albeit Smith in one account asserted that Namontack returned with Newport, and in another that he was slain in Bermuda by the Indian Matchumps.—Arber, II, 638.

original Virginia Council, and despite reports of summer fevers and winter fire at Jamestown, the London Company planned to send Newport over with fresh supplies, while Gates' fleet was being equipped in the effort to pit Britain's power of expansion in the New World against that of Spain.

As an indication of Ambassador Zuniga's hostile activities, we find him writing letters to Philip III, June 26, 27, and 28,⁸ which were followed by other messages in July, August, and September, repeatedly urging that the settlement be annihilated before it should grow too strong.⁹ Nevertheless, Newport was dispatched to Virginia in the *Mary and Margaret* with two newly appointed councillors in the persons of Captains Richard Waldo and Peter Wynne. Bearing the "second supply," he sailed early in August, 1608, and arrived in Virginia in October, again cutting a month off the time spent en route.

CORONATION OF POWHATAN

After the departure of Captain Nelson and the *Phoenix*, June 2, 1608, Captain Smith undertook the first of his discoveries up the various rivers of Virginia looking for the passage to the South Sea, together with surveys of the Chesapeake. Already he had been up the Chickahominy, and, with Newport, he had visited Powhatan on the York. Accompanying Nelson to the Capes in June, 1608, Smith, with a few companions, sailed boldly up the Bay until he reached the Potomac, which the Indians told him led to the Northwest Passage, the hope of all explorers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Potomac, however, like the Patapsco and other streams, proved to have navigable limitations, and on the way south he turned up the Rappahannock, again to encounter disappointment. Reaching Jamestown the last of July, he found the settlers, especially the new ones, suffering from the summer ills. Nevertheless, Smith left Jamestown on another exploration of the Rappahannock and of the short estuary-stream, the Piankattank.¹⁰

On September 20, 1608, the one-year term of Captain Ratcliffe having expired, Captain Smith succeeded to the presidency of the Virginia Council.¹¹ About three weeks later, Newport arrived in

the *Mary and Margaret* bringing the "Second Supply" and a plan prepared by the London Company for the making of "ship-stores, such as pitch, tar, and turpentine, also soapashes, deal, and wain-scot" for which they supplied "skillful workemen from forraine parts, which may teach and set ours in the way. . . . And many wise and painefull [painstaking] men, of every trade and profes-



Site of Settlement

sion . . . to hold and keep conformitie, with the lawes, language, and religion of England." ¹²

On this voyage Newport had two special missions to perform in Virginia: the crowning of Emperor Powhatan and an expedition beyond the falls of the James. The plan to crown Powhatan included English confirmation of the werowance's claim of control over the neighboring tribes. He, in turn, was to acknowledge the sovereignty of James I, the Great Father over the broad waters. Newport and the Council wished Powhatan to come to Jamestown to receive his honors, which would have been in accord with English custom; but the Indian "Emperor," satisfied with things

as they were, would have none of it. In short, since the English wished to carry out a ceremony in which he was not interested, they could come to him.¹³

The coronation plan has long been credited to James I, but the general idea, originated by Raleigh in the case of Manteo, may have been conceived in the Virginia-London Company or its Council. Later, when Smith was arguing for the dissolution of the Company, he derided the incident: "As for the coronation of Powhatan and his presents of basin, ewer, bed, clothes and such costly novelties, they had been much better well spared, than so ill spent."¹⁴ Blaming Newport as the "Author" of the plan, who had his way "against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President [Smith] alleged," Smith assigned various reasons for its approval by the councillors. Scrivener, he wrote, was "desirous to see strange countries," while Captains Waldo and Wynne were "ignorant of the business, being but newly arrived."¹⁵ Smith further denounced the plan because it took men away from their work; yet in autumn men were less needed than in the planting and growing season, during which seasons Smith himself was accustomed to make trips of exploration in search of the "South Sea."

According to his story, Smith reluctantly yielded, and set out for Powhatan's seat with three men and an English boy, Samuel Collier. Again, his story records that he was the object of royal entertainment, consisting of singing, dancing, and feasting, including the greeting given him by a surprise party of thirty young women, who did a weird dance in his honor: "Rushing from amongst the trees," they "cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with excellent ill variety; oft falling into their infernal passions, and then solemnly again to sing and dance. Having spent near an hour in this masquerade, as they entered, in like manner, they departed." Having "reaccommodated" themselves, they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging. But no sooner was he within the house, "but all these nymphs more tormented him than ever, with crowding and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me?' . . . The next day came Powhatan," who made an oration, in which he is reported to have said:

If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this my land. 8 daies I will stay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him; nor yet to your fort: neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge my owne injuries; and as for *Atquanuchuck*, where you say your brother was slain; it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it. But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you have had from my people are false.*

Regardless of apparent inconsistencies in Smith's stories, it was evident that the representative of the sovereign lord must go to the proposed vassal. So Newport, sending the presents of his Majesty by water, set out overland some twelve miles with "fifty" men to meet "three barges" that were to transport his party over the York. While we may well wish to have Newport's official account of the ceremonies that followed, it so happens that the Smith narrative gives a delightful account of the unintended comedy that ensued:

All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set up: [and] his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by Namontacke they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his crowne. He, neither knowing the majestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shouldiers, he a little stooped, and Newport put the Crowne on his head; when, by the warning of a pistoll, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start[ed] up in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembering himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gave his old shoes and his mantle to Captain Newport.†

Following the coronation Newport undertook a second expedi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 437. "Father" here is Newport, not James I, for Smith, when a captive, had told Powhatan he was Newport's son, as also the boy, Thomas Savage. In addition, Smith had told Powhatan that the English would help him destroy his enemies, the Monacans. Smith's "brother" was another fiction put forward by Smith as a reason for his and Newport's enmity towards the Monacans, the slayers.

† *Ibid.*, p. 437. The crown was of copper, a metal apparently held in greater esteem by the Virginia Indians than any other. It was their synonym for the purple of royalty. Henry Spelman, who had opportunity for knowing about the matter at first hand, states in his "Relation of Virginia" that Powhatan placed the crown and bed "in the God's house" at Orapax on the Chickahominy river.

tion towards the uplands, and here we have to depend upon the accounts of Captain Smith, who did not accompany the expedition. The extent of the trip was briefly dismissed by him with the statement that, "We marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe; and so returned down to the same path we went." The alleged failure of the expedition is thus recited:

And in our returne we searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining; having one William Callicut a refiner, fitted for that purpose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded us to beleewe he extracted some smal quantitie of silver (and not unlikely better stuffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leave this faire, fertill, well watred countrie.¹⁶

THE FIRST MANUFACTURES

The principal event that followed Newport's return from the Monacan country concerns the beginnings of colonial manufactures—in the making of glass, for which the London Company should receive credit through their immediate representative in the matter, Admiral Newport. While Newport had brought over the Company-employed men prepared to make pitch, tar, and soap-ashes, these industries represent more or less mechanical processes calling for unskilled labor. The manufacture of glass, however, required technical training, which was met by the importation of "eight Dutchmen and Poles." At a point about a mile from Jamestown, they set up a "Glass-house" where sand and fuel could be had in abundance, and from which, as early as 1608, glass samples appear to have been sent from the colony to England. In carrying out his orders, Newport himself must have undertaken the building of the glass factory, for Smith speaks merely of having visited the "new begun workes"; and later he even expressed his disapproval of the plan as impracticable. Possibly because of this disapproval, Smith was sent by Newport and the Council on an expedition "5 myles from the fort" with some thirty men "to learn to make clapboard, cut down trees, and ly in the woods."¹⁷

With respect to his allotment of work to these men, Smith employed some phrases that have long been associated with him,

especially as to the manner in which he curbed profanity. To work on one assignment he reported he took "30 of us" including "two gallants of the last supply" to whom work of this character was "strange to their conditions." Nevertheless, whether it was "lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke, they became Masters; making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell." Whereupon followed one of Smith's entertaining conceits that, despite the pleasure they were enjoying, as above stated, "the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drowne the eccho: for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to have everie mans oathes numbered; and at night, for every oath to have a can of water powred downe his sleeve. With which, every offender was so washed (himselpe and all) that a man should scarce heare an oath in a weeke." ¹⁸

Chapter VI

THE COMPANY TAKES COMMAND

LATE in 1608, or early in the following January, Newport again sailed for England. He had on board, besides the accustomed exports in clapboard and wainscot, "trials" of pitch, tar, and glass. Also there was mention of "frankincense," supposed by some to have been what several pioneers referred to as the natural "sweet balsams," for which it was hoped there would be a demand in the mother country. Sassafras roots were not listed; hence it may be inferred that the market for that commodity had already proved illusory. Newport took with him John Ratcliffe, another member of the Virginia Council who was to visit the mother country and return to the colony.¹

Leaving at Jamestown about two hundred colonists, the Admiral of Virginia arrived in time to help prepare the most ambitious effort yet made by the Virginia-London Company to make Britain's hold secure in the Western Hemisphere. Besides preparing a campaign for funds, settlers, and equipment, a new charter gave the Company control of colonial affairs and thereby made it possible for the Company, ten years later, to confer the privilege of self-government under representative institutions.

In order to appreciate the significance of these changes in relation to American colonization, it is essential to bear in mind that James I was increasingly restless under Parliamentary restrictions and that he was reaching out for absolute power in church and state. Although well-informed Englishmen understood what the king had in view, there were not a few who favored this trend, while others were unwilling openly to oppose it. With numerous religious sects and proponents of new political theories appearing in the wake of the establishment of the "reformed religion," they feared dangerous upheavals in the body politic. In addition, many conservative spirits felt that representative government could not survive in active rivalry with regimented peoples under militant monarchs exercising absolute powers.

A review of these conflicting opinions is the more desirable since certain generalities in nomenclature have overemphasized party distinctions. For example, with respect to the Virginia-London Company, the supporters of the contentions of James I have been called the "Court party" and the "Spanish party." These terms originated in the factional clashes in the Company;² and are, therefore, not the creations of modern commentators who have employed them in derogatory connotations. The liberal element in the Company received the designation of the "patriot party," or the "Parliament interest." Unfortunately, the former term conveys prejudicial inferences with respect to their opponents, some of whom were equally patriotic conservatives. Nevertheless the terms are convenient and belong definitely to the period under discussion. In any event, it is clear that to the "patriot party" in the Virginia-London Company America owes the genesis of its free institutions—institutions which were established largely by members of Parliament who were also members of the Company. It was these leaders who aimed to keep the lamp of liberty lighted in the New World should it be snuffed out by despotism in the Old.

There are two principal reasons for the readiness of James I to agree to an abdication of royal prerogative with respect to the Virginia colony. First, it was represented to him that if he passed these powers over to a "private" group of Englishmen, the latter, rather than the king or the government, could be held responsible in case of trouble with Philip III. Hence, under the Charter of 1609, with its shift in responsibility from the crown to the Company, it was subtly represented to his Majesty that he could vouch for the colony "at his pleasure or disavowe it as might be best for his honor and service" and that, "if it take not success, it is done of ther owne heddes. It is but the attempt of private gentlemen, the State suffers noe losse, noe disreputation. If it take success, they are your subjects, they doe it for your service, they will lay all at your Majesty's feet."³

In addition to the private reasons designed to persuade James I to grant the new charter with its grant of political powers, others were openly set forth by the Company for the information of the public. The document containing these latter reasons was entitled

"A True and Sincere Declaration." It was prepared in 1609 and was printed the following year. Throughout its pages the "Declaration" emphasized "The *Principal* and *Maine Endes*" of the Virginia enterprise, which were "*first* to recover out of the armes of the Divell . . . soules wrapt up unto death, in almost *invincible ignorance*" (italics as in original). "Secondly," the patriotic reason was urged; *i.e.*, the effort to offset the power of Spain in the New World and create a "Bulwarke of defence in a place of advantage." Finally, there was the nationalistic appeal to promote the possession of a land which would supply many commodities otherwise purchased at high rates and by the leave of sundry nations.

This remarkable state paper closed with the following appeal (orthography modernized):

Let us turn from hearts of stone and iron, and pray unto that merciful and tender God, who is both easy and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to bless and water these feeble beginnings, and that as He is wonderful in all His works, so to nourish this grain of seed, that it may spread till all people of the earth admire the greatness, and seeke the shades and fruit thereof.⁴

THE SANDYS CHARTER OF 1609

In the realm of history, comparisons are, or should be, useful. By way of illustration, the Dutch plan for colonization devised in this same year (1609) represents the only other democracy—to employ the term in contrast to the autocratic procedure of other European states—that was preparing for New World expansion. The Dutch plan has been thus summarized by Motley:

The States-General were to furnish the company at starting with one million of florins and with twenty ships of war. The company was to add twenty other ships. The Government was to consist of four chambers of directors. One-half the capital was to be contributed by the chamber of Amsterdam, one-quarter by that of Zealand, one-eighth respectively by the chambers of the Meuse and of North Holland.⁵

The Dutch-American venture was subsidized by the Dutch government. On the other hand, the London-Virginia Company was supported wholly by private enterprise and popular subscrip-

tions; hence, because of its influence upon the development of the first colony and the precedents it created, the provisions of the Sandys Charter of 1609 should be examined in some detail. This instrument was under careful consideration for months, a consideration which began with the realization of many of the leading founders that the success of the colonization venture would very largely depend upon popular interest inspired by lofty purposes.

Under the new plan, prepared by Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Smith was continued as the president ("treasurer") of the Company. Sir Thomas appears to have consented to the policy proposed by the group of political liberals; but there is evidence to indicate that he used his interlocking interests to the pecuniary advantage of the East India Company (*infra*, p. 236), which enterprise paid dividends as the Virginia venture did not. In short, after examination of the records now made available, one is led to believe that the following judgment passed upon him by Arthur Wodenoth, a contemporary, is as significant as it is briefly comprehensive: "A great and forward confidence was cast upon Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Company and divers other companies in London," who "was thought a better patriot than afterwards proved." *

Article I of the Charter of 1609 is a résumé of what had taken place in the formation of the Plymouth-London Companies. Article II summarizes the origin of the "first colony" at Jamestown which the adventurers and planters did "further intend, by the assistance of Almighty God, to prosecute to a happy end"; and it was stated that, because of "great charges and the adventure of many of their lives, which they have hazarded in the said discovery and plantation of said country," they would in the ensuing articles be given a "further enlargement and explanation of the said grant, privileges, and liberties," all of which meant the assumption of political powers and jurisdiction hitherto held by the king. The Company constituted, in effect, a parliament for America with greater freedom of procedure than the Parliament

* That good men could differ in the judgment of personalities is illustrated by the story on official record that Sir Thomas Dale pulled Newport's beard and threatened to hang him for some slighting remark about Sir Thomas Smith.—Sainsbury, *Skate Papers*, p. 68.

of the Realm. The charter provided for the right to elect such councillors and other officers as were needful for the transaction of business, which was to be expedited by having the membership "not so remote from the city of London, but that they may, convenient times, be ready at hand, to give their advice and assistance."

The boundaries of the special domain of the Company were greatly enlarged to include "all those lands, countries, and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the sea-coast to the northward two hundred miles, and from the said Point or Cape Comfort, all along the sea-coast to the southward two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea-coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest," and also all the islands "lying within one hundred miles." *

Omitting the tedious redundancy of the customary legal phraseology, this Article VI includes the right of the Company to everything physical to be found in said region or grant, accompanied by such abstractions as "royalties, privileges, franchises and pre-eminences." All was made over to the Company and their "successors and assigns forever . . . to have and to hold, possess and enjoy, all and singular the said lands, countries and territories," the king reserving to the Crown only the "fifth part of all ore of gold and silver" that may be found therein. In short, this vast territory became the private domain of a corporate body to be held of the Crown "as of our manour of East Greenwich," any and all portions of which (Article VII) could, under the Company's seal, be distributed, conveyed, or assigned to any British subjects born or naturalized.

Since it was stated that it would be inconvenient to call together the Company or the "major part of them," on all occasions for the transaction of business, Articles VIII and IX provided for a "Council here resident"—constituted "for the better government and administration of the said plantation." Although the king

* This "west and northwest" phrase has led to different interpretations, but it seems that the word "northwest" has a particular significance in that it must have been inserted to secure to the Company continuous control of any river running in that direction leading towards the Pacific.

nominated the fifty-two members of the Council, Article XI provided that additional members were to be elected from the Company of "adventurers" by majority vote, also that the Company could vote as to whether the Council members should be "continued, displaced, changed, altered, and supplied, as death, or other several occasions, shall require." The charter granted power to the "said council" to control the personnel of the officers "thought fit and needful to be made or used, for the government of the said colony and plantation."

By Article XIV the Council was empowered "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary, for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation; and the same at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also upon the seas in going and coming, to and from the said colony, as they, in their good discretion, shall think to be fittest for the good of the adventurers and inhabitants there."

Article XVIII provided, in addition to official free trade with and for the colony, freedom from taxation for a period of seven years by "subsidy, custom, imposition, or any other tax or duty." In addition, by Article XIX, subsidies and customs in Virginia were not to be imposed "for a space of one and twenty years . . . either upon importation thither, or exportation from thence, into our realm of England," except for a "custom" duty "according to the ancient trade of merchants." *

Since the king was thus washing his hands of the immediate responsibility of guarding and supporting this extension of the realm, Article XX provided that the Company or the colony could "for their several defence and safety . . . repel and resist by force and arms, as well by sea as by land . . . all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as . . . shall attempt to inhabit, within the said several precincts and limits of the said colony and plantation; and also, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, destruc-

* The impost allowed the Company on anything bought or sold in the colony by non-members or aliens was to be five per cent and ten per cent respectively, or double the rates allowed the adventurers in the Charter of 1606.—*Cf. G. L. Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (New York, 1908), p. 226.

tion, invasion, hurt, detriment, or annoyance, to the said colony and plantation."

The twenty-nine articles include the provisions of the Raleigh patent that inhabitants of the colony "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities" of Englishmen as if they dwell "within this our realm of England"; also Article XXVI provided "that in all questions and doubts, that shall arise, upon any difficulty of construction or interpretation of any thing, contained either in this, or in our said former letters patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial manner for the said treasurer and company, and their successors, and every member thereof." *

In the new Chapter, the "Council here resident," nominated by the king, was composed almost wholly of men of rank, whose names, arranged alphabetically, are:

Sir Francis Bacon; Sir Maurice Berkely; Christopher Brooke, Esq.; George, Lord Carew; Sir Henry Carey; Sir Edward Cecil; Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter; Sir Thomas Challoner; Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; Sir Edward Conway; Sir Walter Cope; Sir George Coppin; Sir Oliver Cromwell; Sir Dudley Digges; Sir Robert Drury; John Eldred; Sir Henry Fanshaw; Sir Thomas Gates; Sir William Godolphin; Brydges Grey, Lord Chandois; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Sir Baptist Hicks; Sir Henry Hobart; Lord Theophilus Howard; Sir Robert Killigrew; Thomas Lord La Karr; Sir Robert Mansel; Sir Peter Manwood; Sir Henry Montague; James Montague, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells; Sir Henry Nevil; William Parker, Lord Monteagle; Sir Stephen Poole; Sir Amias Preston; Sir Thomas Roe; Sir William Romney; Sir Edwin Sandys; Sir Michael Sands; Sir John Scot; Edmond, Lord Sheffield; Sir Thomas Smith; John, Lord Stanhope; Robert Sydney, Lord Viscount Lisle; Sir John Trevor; Sir Horatio Vere; Sir William Wade; Sir John Watts; Sir Humfrey Weld, Lord Mayor of London; Sir Richard Williamson; Sir John Wolstenholme; Henry Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton; Edward Lord Zouche.⁶

* The official birthday of the charter was May 23, 1609, and the legal name of the Company for whom it was drawn was "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony of Virginia." The Charter of 1609 has been printed in several works of reference, as W. W. Hening, *Statutes at Large* pp. 80-98; Hazard, *State Papers*, I, 58-72; Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, VII.

With over seven hundred persons listed as members of the Company, millions in America of English stock may feel a sense of having inherited some form of participation in the "action." * At the time, the listing of these names in the body of the Charter was regarded as of so great importance that the College of Herald's was consulted as to arranging the names with due regard to their respective rankings.

In the "Declaration" of the aims of the Company issued upon the grant of the charter, we find a breadth of view that appears to have been unique in public documents of that period; for despite the mutual antagonisms between the church-state of England and that of Spain, the "True and Sincere Declaration" recites a common purpose in the conversion of the natives to Christianity. After conjecturing as to what would be asked of souls approaching the "*Tribunall of Heaven*" with respect to services rendered on earth, this semi-official pronouncement issued the following exhortation (orthography modernized):

O let there be a virtuous emulation between us and the Church of Rome, in her own glory, and treasury of good works! And let us turn all our contentions upon the common enemy of the Name of Christ. How far hath she sent out her apostles and through how glorious dangers? How is it become a mark of honor to her faith, to have converted nations, and obloquy cast upon us, that we having the better vine, should have worse dressers and husbanders of it? †

For reasons of state and public policy, it was considered necessary to declare in the charter that prospective colonists sailing for Virginia should be required to take the oath of supremacy. It appears, however, that this oath was loosely administered, for it did not prevent the emigration of individual Roman Catholics, to whom we find, from time to time, incidental references.

That the suggestions as to "virtuous emulation" were not reciprocated by the Spanish ambassador is indicated in Zuniga's

* See appendix.

† This ideal of emulation in good works must have been known to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, in the founding of Maryland, who made a similar appeal for conversion of the natives, be they by Anglicans in Virginia, by Puritans in New England, or by those of his own faith in his palatinate. See "Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-Land," Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (New York, 1933), pp. 51-52.

letters to Philip III. For example, on March 5, 1609,⁷ he declared that the London-Virginia Company had called upon all Englishmen to "support this Colony with their persons and their property for the increase of their religion. It would be a service rendered to God that Your Majesty should cut short a swindle and a robbery like this." By way of proof, Zuniga added "I have seen a letter written by a gentleman who is over there in Virginia, to a friend of his, who is known to me and has shown it to me," a statement indicating that informers were everywhere working in the interest of Spain.

"NOVA BRITANNIA"

In "Nova Britannia" a strong appeal was made for settlers and support. Fifty acres were offered individual venturers, while a great nobleman or a wealthy merchant could take out patents as high as ten thousand acres for the transportation of two hundred persons. A special effort was made to enlist the interest of skilled workingmen through securing subscriptions from their various guilds. The fact that this appeal was initialled by Alderman Robert Johnson doubtless explains some stressing of the prospects for material returns. The same strain was noticeable in the supplement of "Nova Britannia" on "The New Life of Virginea," also initialled by Sir Thomas Smith's principal aide.*

Nevertheless, the hand and spirit of the Sandys group may be easily identified in many more and much longer passages as the following appeal to:

All well affected subjects, some in their persons, others in their purses, cheerefully to adventure, and joyntly take in hand this high and acceptable worke, tending to advance and spread the kingdome of God, and the knowledge of the truth, among so many millions of men and women, Savage and blind, that never yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their soules, as also for the honor of our King, and enlarging of his kingdome, and for preser-

* Johnson was subsequently accused, in soliciting of subscriptions, of selling stock through misrepresentation, or, in modern terms, "on false pretenses." These charges appear to have been brought against him in connection with claims other than any made in these printed forms.

vation and defence of that small number our friends and countrimen already planted.⁸

This call to colonization warned the public that the:

Bitter root of greedy gaine be not so settled in our harts, that beeing in a golden dreame, if it fall not out presently to our expectation, we slinke away with discontent, and draw our purses from the charge.⁹

NOVA BRITANNIA.
OFFERING MOST
 Excellent fruites by Planting in
 VIRGINIA.
 Exciting all such as be well affected
 to further the same.



LONDON
 Printed for SAMUEL MACHAM, and are to be sold at
 his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the
 Signe of the Bul-head.
 1609.

Reduced title page of the pamphlet *Nova Britannia*
 Courtesy of the New York Public Library

We next come upon a commercial concept that had strongly appealed to English navigators and adventurers for many years:

But of all other things, that God hath denied that countrie, there is want of Sheepe to make woollen cloth, and this want of cloth, must alwaies bee supplied from England, whereby when the Colony is thorowly increased, and the *Indians* brought to our Civilitie (as they will in short time) it will cause a mighty vent of *English* clothes, a great benefit to our Nation.

The ways and means to bring about the desired ends of American colonization were summarized as follows:

The second thing to make this Plantation is money, to be raised among the adventurers, wherein the sooner and more deeply men engage themselves, their charge will be the shorter. . . . Wee call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there: And those Adventurers that adventure their money and go not in person, and both doe make the members of one Colonie. We do account twelve pound ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will goe and dwell there, and every childe about tenne yeares, that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money. . . . All charges of setling and maintaining the Plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a joint stock of the adventurers for seven yeares after the date of our new enlargement.

POPULAR RESPONSE

At this point, Ambassador Zuniga's activities in trying to undermine American settlement worked to the colony's advantage in a way he little foresaw, for it was largely the fear of Spanish intervention that led James I to give up autocratic control of Virginia whereby a way was opened for the beginnings of representative institutions. In England the public at large seemed to grasp the significance of these developments; and William Strachey compared the demonstration of popular enthusiasm to a Roman jubilee or to a Greek festival; for he wrote:

The discourse and visitation of it tooke up all meetings, times, termes, all degrees, all purses, and such throngs and concourse of personal undertakers, as the aire seemed not to have more lights than that Holie cause inflamed Spirits to partake with it. Almost every religious Subject that stood sound indeed at the Coare within to Loialtie and to the profession of the present Faith brought his Free will offering.¹⁰

At the same time, Ambassador Zuniga sent word to Philip III: "There has been gotten together in twenty days a sum of money for this voyage which amazes one; among fourteen Counts and

Barons they have given 40,000 ducats, the Merchants give much more, and there is no poor little man, or woman, who is not willing to subscribe something for this enterprise . . . I have thought it my duty to report this to Your Majesty by this Courier; because Your Majesty ought very promptly to give orders to make an end of this.”¹¹

In fact, so much was written and said about Virginia that Tobias Matthew, then Archbishop of York, complained to the Earl of Shrewsbury under date of June 8, 1609, that he wanted to hear more news from Venice, Austria, Bohemia, Denmark and Sweden, “for of Virginia there be so many tractates, divine, human, historical, political, or call them as you please, as no further intelligence I dare desire.”¹² According to Motley: “It was in this year that two words became more frequent in the mouths of men than they had ever been before; two words which as the ages rolled on were destined to exercise a wider influence over the affairs of this planet than was yet dreamed of by any thinker in Christendom.” The “year” was 1609, and the “two words” were America and *Virginia*.¹³ To the promulgation of the Charter of 1609 may be added other events of prime importance with respect to America; *viz.*, the Netherlands-Spanish Treaty which opened to the future “Pilgrim Fathers” a haven in Holland; and the voyage of Henry Hudson’s *Half Moon* that led to the beginnings of Dutch New Amsterdam and English New York.

THE BERMUDIAN INTERLUDE

The Council of the reconstituted and enlarged London Company lost no time in seeking a man of high rank, prestige, and active interest in the Virginia enterprise. Him they found in Thomas West, Lord Delaware, who was chosen “Governor and Captain-General of Virginia” in order to bring to an end the clashing of authority at Jamestown. Delaware, however, was not prepared to accompany the expedition. Until such time as he was ready, Sir Thomas Gates was appointed as the “sole and absolute governor,”¹⁴ so that when the latter should arrive at Jamestown, there would be no question as to his authority in the colony until he was superseded. Zuniga, in warning Philip III of these plans,

paid tribute to Gates as "a very special soldier" who "has seen service among the Rebels";¹⁵ *viz.*, the Dutch.

The fleet that sailed from Plymouth for Virginia on June 2, 1609, consisted of nine vessels under the command of Sir George Somers, Admiral; and of Christopher Newport, Vice-Admiral. Their flagship was the *Sea Venture*, which, with a considerable company on board, was to play a principal role in perhaps the most romantic incident associated with American beginnings. The other vessels were the *Diamond*, Captain John Ratcliffe and Master King; the *Falcon*, Captain John Martin and Master Nelson; and the *Blessing*, with Captain Gabriel Archer and Captain Adams; the *Unity*, Captain Wood; the *Lion*, Captain Webb; the *Swallow*, Captain Moon; the *Virginia*, Captain Davis; and the *Catch*, in charge of Master Matthew Fitch, who had been with Newport on his first exploration up the James.*

There were on board these nine ships about five hundred men, women, and children. The company took a "southerly course" but not the customary one by the West Indies. Near the tropics a hurricane was encountered, which "endured fortie hours in extremitie."¹⁶ The tiny *Catch* was never seen again, while the *Sea Venture*, having on board Governor Gates, Admiral Somers, and Vice-Admiral Newport, was lodged between two rocks off the coral reefs of the Bermudas, then greatly feared and avoided by sailors as the "Devil's Ilands," where, after the passing of the tempest, her company and crew were landed. Upon this supposedly haunted spot, which was now found to be enchanting rather than enchanted, they lived for nearly a year, whilst their fellow-countrymen at Jamestown and in England supposed all were lost. Besides Gates, Somers, and Newport, there were sundry individuals who were to play interesting and important roles at Jamestown. Among these were the Reverend Richard Buck, a faithful successor to Master Robert Hunt; John Rolfe, subse-

* Letter of Gabriel Archer, Jamestown, August, 1609, in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XIX, 2. As described by Archer, this last vessel was "the Boat of Sir George Somers, called the Virginia, which was built in the North Colony"; *viz.*, Sagadahoc. The *Sea Venture* is also given as the *Sea Adventure*, but the former nomenclature is preferred, for that was the name on the memorial which was set up at Bermuda with the ship's own timbers, whereon was written the "spoyle of an English ship (of three hundred tunne) called the Sea Venture," William Strachey, in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX,

quently an outstanding contributor to the material success of the colony; Captain George Yeardley, destined to preside over the first legislative assembly ten years later; and William Strachey, the first officially appointed secretary of the colony. To the last-named we are indebted for an extended eye-witness narrative, whence it now appears Shakespeare may have received inspiration for composing *The Tempest*, even though the play itself is based upon a then-popular Italian type.* In particular, the dramatist made use of sundry words and phrases occurring in Strachey's letter, some of which are found in no other account. Furthermore, the Strachey narrative tends to corroborate the view that the early English colonists represented a cross section of English life; for this "supply" had also its proportion of undesirables intermingled with the better class of laborers, yeomen, and persons of rank. True to life, as Strachey portrayed it, Shakespeare's characters run the gamut; and in the debate on what would in the twentieth century be termed "social science," Shakespeare shows an intimate knowledge of the vagaries propounded by certain visionary idealists in the shipwrecked company, whom he satirizes accordingly.

To the first fifty-one days of westward sailing (June 2 to July 23) Strachey devotes a few words only, but in those few he discloses information of contemporary value to the London Company as well as a matter of historical significance. "According to our Governor's instructions," he wrote, we "altered the trade and ordinary way used heretofore . . . by the West Indies" and turned northward to Jamestown, which change of route shortened the time of these voyages and thereby lessened the "great charge" of such expeditions to "our Council and company of adventurers."

On July 24 the storm struck and scattered the fleet, and Somers' flagship was forced to cast off the *Catch*, which she had been "towing till then." Each vessel shifted for itself, or as Archer described it, "Every man steered his owne course." Since few have,

* For the type of play see "The Sources of *The Tempest*" by H. G. Gray in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1920. In a letter to the author dated, February 9, 1942, Professor Oscar James Campbell writes:

"My view is that Shakespeare extracted from Strachey's narrative picturesque details which, being characteristics of a contemporary enchanted island, seemed made for his purpose. The interesting fact from the point of view of Shakespeare's biography is that he must have read the narrative and so had friendly associations with some of the men connected with the Virginia voyage."

at any time, described a hurricane at sea as graphically as the newly appointed secretary of the colony, and since this particular storm was immortalized by England's greatest playwright, the story of the wreck is here presented in Strachey's own words in the aforesaid private letter addressed to an "excellent Lady":¹⁷

A dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the North-east, which swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some hours with more violence than others, at length did beat all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkness turned black upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and fear use to overrun the troubled and overmastered senses of all. . . . For surely (Noble Lady) as death comes so sudden nor apparent, so he comes not so elvish and painful . . . as at Sea. . . .

For four and twenty hours the storm in a restless tumult had blown so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence; yet did we still find it, not only more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second more outrageous than the former: whether it so wrought upon our fears, or indeed met with new forces. Sometimes . . . our clamour drowned in the winds in thunder . . . the sea swelled above the clouds, and gave battle unto Heaven. It could not be said to rain, the waters like whole rivers did flood in the air . . . the glut of water (as if throttling the wind ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the winds (as having gotten their mouths now free, and at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and malignant . . . there was not a moment in which the sudden splitting, or instant over-setting of the ship was not expected.

Howbeit this was not all. It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us; for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak. And the ship in every joint almost, having spued out her okum, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate than any other that a voyage by sea draweth with it) was grown five foot suddenly deep with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilst we sat looking when to perish from above. This imparting no less terror than danger, ran through the whole ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the blood, and took down the braves of the most hardy mariner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himself, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly

sink him. So as joining . . . in the public safety, there might be seen Master, Masters Mate, Boatswain, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candles in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the sides, searching every corner, and listening in every place, if they could hear the water run. Many a weeping leak was this way found, and hastily stopped, and at length one in the gunner room made up with I know not how many pieces of beef: but all was to no purpose, the leak (if it were but one) which drunk in our greatest seas, and took in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor ever was, by any labor, counsel or search. . . .

I am not able to give unto your Ladyship every man's thought in this perplexity, to which we were now brought; but to me, this leakage appeared as a wound given to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as desire of life in the storm, and in this, it went beyond my will; because beyond my reason, why we should labor to preserve life; yet we did, either because so dear are a few lingering hours of life in all mankind, or that our Christian knowledges taught us, how much we owed to the rites of Nature, as bound, not to be false to ourselves, or to neglect the means of our own preservation. . . .

During all this time the heavens looked so black upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed: nor a star by night, nor sun beam by day was to be seen. Only upon the Thursday night Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the main mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the four shrouds: and for three or four hours together, or rather more, half the night it kept with us; running sometimes along the main-yard to the very end, and then returning. . . .

From Tuesday noon till Friday noon, we bailed and pumped two thousand ton . . . it wanted little, but that there had been a general determination to have shut up hatches, and commending our sinful souls to God, committed the ship to the mercy of the sea: surely, that night we must have done it, and that night had we then perished; but see the goodness and sweet introduction of better hope, by our merciful God given unto us. Sir George Summers, when no man dreamed of such happiness, had discovered, and cried land. Indeed, the morning now three quarters spent, had won a little clearness from the days before, and it being better surveyed, the very trees were seen to move with the wind upon the shore side: whereupon our Governor com-

manded the helm-man to bear up, the boatswain sounding at the first, found it thirteen fathom; and, when we stood a little in, seven fathom; and presently heaving his lead the third time, had ground at four fathom, and by this, we had got her within a mile under the southeast point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But having no hope to save her by coming to an anchor in the same, we were enforced to run her ashore, as near the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shore, and by the mercy of God unto us, making out our boats, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the island.*

As Strachey, in the picturesque phrases of the seventeenth century, portrayed an "apparition of a little round light, like a faint star, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the main mast, and shooting sometimes from shroud to shroud," it took little imagination for the dramatist to present a poetic version of a phenomenon then known to both scribes and sailors as St. Elmo's fire. Here the Bard had but to change Strachey's prose to the proper rhythmic measure, and put special emphasis on the dividing of the corposant or sacred body, to have Ariel's report to Prospero:

I boarded the King's ship. Now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement: sometime I'd divide,
And burn in many places; on the topmast,
The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet and join.¹⁸

Governor Gates, bearing the Strachey letter and other papers, returned to England in September, 1610, and *The Tempest* was performed some time thereafter. Certain proper names, says Gayley, such as "Gonzalo, and Ferdinand, leap to the eye in Strachey's account of the shipwreck: 'Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus' is Strachey's authority for the reputation of the 'Iland Bermudas' and its Devils, and he takes pains to tell her Ladyship, his correspondent, so. Gonzalo and Ferdinando were already named for Shakespeare before he set them ashore."¹⁹ With a view to pleasing

* July 28, 1609.

the Earl of Southampton—patron of the dramatist as well as of Virginia—or perhaps Sir Dudley Digges, likewise an active patron of the Virginia enterprise, the playwright may have considered Miranda as a ‘pleasing conceit’ typifying the virgin continent, and Ariel the spirit of liberty set free in the New World.*

Leslie Hotson, in bringing out sundry intimate associations between Shakespeare and the families of some of the founders of Virginia, observes that: “For a large part of the seventeenth century Virginia was under the control of close kinsmen of Shakespeare’s friends. Sir William Berkeley of Bruton, Governor under Charles I and Charles II, was the nephew of Shakespeare’s Thomas Russell, named by Shakespeare ‘overseer’ of his will.”²⁰ Edward Digges, who succeeded Berkeley from 1655 to 1658, was the nephew of Shakespeare’s poet-eulogist, Leonard Digges, author of the lines containing the oft-quoted expression, “Poets are born, not made.” And it is herewith suggested that Thomas Savage, one of the two trustees of Shakespeare’s interest in the Globe Theatre, was a near relative of Thomas Savage, the young pioneer who became in Virginia the adopted son, first of Powhatan, then of Debedeavon, and subsequently interpreter for the Jamestown settlers.†

The shipwrecked company salvaged some portions of the supplies stored in the *Sea Venture*, but they soon learned to live on fish, birds, and native plants while sowing English garden seeds. In the preceding century, passing sailors had loosed near the shore a number of hogs. Apparently the first the Company learned of the wild hogs on the island came through the nocturnal visit of “an huge wild Boare” that had followed the domestic swine. This one was trapped by “a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder legge,” after which “our people would goe a hunting with our Ship Dogge, and sometimes bring home thirtie, sometimes fiftie

* After suggesting to Professor Kittredge these Miranda-Ariel conjectures, which were indulgently tolerated as such, the author attempted to discover if Southampton held an interest in the good ship *Prosperous*, then plying between Virginia and England, in order to offer a possible source for *Prospero*, but European war conditions interrupted research.

† Dr. Cawley has made the interesting suggestion that Caliban represented the American savage and that the effort of the English to bring the native to civility is personified by Prospero. With the dramatist’s accustomed impartiality, the Indian angle is offered in Caliban’s resentment over being supplanted in his native realm.—Cawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 701-702; 714-721.

Boares, Sowes, and Pigs in a week alive: for the Dog would fasten on them and hold, whilst the Hunts-men made in.”²¹

Included in a twenty-two stanza account of events by R. Rich, one of the company, there is an amusing description of Bermudian hog-hunting by “one of the Voyage”:

But yet these Worthies were opprest with weather againe:
To runne their Ship between two Rockes, where she doth still remaine.
And then on shoare the Iland came, inhabited by Hogges:
Some Foule and Tortoyes there were, they onely had one Dogge

To kill these swyne, to yeild them food that little had to eate:
Their store was spent, and all things scant, alas they wanted meate.
A thousand hogges that dogge did kill, their hunger to sustaine,
And with such food, did in that Ile two and forty weekes remaine.”²²

On the other hand, the food-providing swine were contemporaneously eulogized by Thomas Coryate who wrote:

Of the *Bermudos* . . .
Kep’t as supposed, by Hels infernall dogs,
Our Fleet found there most honest courteous hogs.”²³

While in Bermuda, one of the first cares of Governor Gates was to fix authority there “by a particular Commission” in the person of Captain Peter Wynne. For that purpose he sent out the salvaged “long Boate” of the *Sea Venture* “in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the hatches of our ruin’d ship” giving “her Sayles and Oares.” This Strachey called “a Barke of Aviso for Virginia,” and Gates put it in charge of Master’s Mate Henry Ravens. Mate Ravens had instructions not only to have Captain Wynne appointed deputy governor in place of Captain Smith, then President of the Council; but he was to return “by the next New Moone” to Bermuda with the *Discovery*, doubtless to convey Gates to Jamestown. However, Ravens, together with Cape Merchant Thomas Whittingham and six sailors, was never seen again, albeit “Two Moones were wasted” as lookouts kept beacons burning upon a Bermudian promontory, who “gave many a long and wished looke around . . . but in vaine, discovering nothing

all the while, which way soever we turned our eye, but ayre and sea." Captain Wynne was to have "an Assistance of six Counsellours"; and letters were written to "such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such lovers of goodnesse in this cause whom hee knew" to assist "against such as should attempt the innovating of the person (now named by him) or forme of government, which in some Articles he did prescribe." *

In the meantime, beginning early in September, Richard Frobisher was building a pinnace as a consort for the expected *Discovery*, until by the last of November Sir George Somers, "well perceiving that we were not likely to heare from Virginia, and conceiving how the Pinnace which Richard Frubbusher was a building would not be of burthen sufficient to transport all our men from thence into Virginia," constructed "another little Barke." Eventually, these small craft were named the *Deliverance* and the *Patience*.

During their sojourn in Bermuda, the company of statesmen, soldiers, mariners, and colonists celebrated the wedding of Thomas Powell to Elizabeth Parsons. They welcomed, also, two new settlers, who were, with the blessing of the Reverend Richard Buck, christened Bermuda (Rolfe) and Bermudas (Eason). Baby Bermuda died; and so, in Virginia, did her mother, who little dreamed the second Mrs. Rolfe would be an Indian "princess." Distinguished godfathers the infants had in Christopher Newport, vice-admiral of the fleet, and William Strachey, poet, historian, and secretary of the colony.

Such was the bright side, but sundry other happenings show a different aspect; for, in the midst of the work, there arose some three demonstrations in connection with what would be called in modern terms sabotage, or sit-down strikes. Governor Gates was, as subsequent events showed, a severe disciplinarian; but in this

* The above parentheses are given in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*. Since that worthy clergyman is known elsewhere to have eliminated, explained, or otherwise edited, references to the lusty pioneer whose books he helped prepare for publication, the thought naturally arises that Captain Smith was the person named. There were rumors rife among the colonists that Ravens and his men reached Virginia; but, that being wholly inexperienced, they were surprised and massacred by the Indians, for "Powhatan would tell our men of such a Boat landed in one of his Rivers, and would describe the people, and make much scoffing sport thereat."—Strachey, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

matter he seems to have deferred to the mild-mannered Sir George Somers, who was, *en route*, his superior officer.

The Elizabethan age of increased freedom of expression and conduct had encouraged all kinds of independents in politics and religion, and one of the chief Bermuda conspirators was such an individualist who, in the following decade, it appears, became a citizen of the Plymouth Colony. He had, in short, the unique distinction of being a pioneer in Bermuda, a sojourner at Jamestown, and finally a "Pilgrim" founder of New England (p. 162, *infra*). As a study in the character of transplanted Englishmen of all types, it is well to let Strachey present the picture of the three so-called "mutinies": *

The first of September a conspiracy was discovered, of which six were found principals, who had promised each unto the other, not to set their hands to any travail or endeavor which might expedite or forward this Pinnacle: and each of these had severally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the smith, and one of our carpenters, Nicholas Bennit, who made such profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling imposter; the captain, and one of the chief persuaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like outlaws retired into the woods, to make a settlement and habitation there.

The two leaders of this first conspiracy were exiled "to an island far by itself"; but further difficulties apparently grew out of this executive clemency in pardoning all concerned upon evidence of their "seeming sorrow and repentance":

Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety, and therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture: a fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures, and could reason well therein, whom our Minister therefore chose to be his Clerk, to read the Psalms, and the chapters upon Sundays . . . who . . . alleged substantial arguments, both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor religion, to decline from the obedience of the Governor, or refuse to go any further, led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves) since the authority ceased

* So described by Purchas in his marginal notes to Strachey's letter.

when the wreck was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man.*

Hopkins was given a fair trial before "the whole company," found guilty, and condemned to suffer death by "the sentence of a martial court upon him, such as belongs to mutiny and rebellion. But so penitent he was, and made so much moan, alleging the ruin of his wife and children in this his trespass, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sort of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earnest supplications, went unto our Governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine Newport, and myself) and never left him until we had got his pardon."†

Again the policy of clemency seems to have failed, and the third of these "disquiets" broke out. A chief offender in this third mutiny was "one Henry Paine." Him the Governor ordered to be "instantly hanged; and the ladder being ready, after he had made many confessions, he earnestly desired, being a Gentleman, that he might be shot to death, and towards the evening he had his desire, the sun and his life setting together."

With respect to "our minister," Secretary Strachey presented the following brief summary: "The contents (for the most part) of all our Preachers Sermons were especially of Thankfulnesse and

* Apparently it was the announcement of this Hopkins theory that led to the framing of the *Mayflower* Compact. As recorded by Governor Bradford, the Compact followed "discontented and mutinous speeches," summarized by him as follows: "That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie, for none had power to command them," since an accident had cast those concerned upon a site different from that intended. While there is no positive proof which links the Bermuda-Jamestown sojourner with the *Mayflower* passenger by that name, the fact that the doctrine enunciated by the Hopkins at Bermuda is the same as that discovered on board the *Mayflower* indicates identity of source; and, as far as the author knows, this point has not been advanced. It seems highly plausible that Hopkins may have seized a second opportunity to air his views—albeit this time he met in Governor Bradford a master more convincing than the easy-going Admiral Somers; for Bradford seems to have handled him and his ideas with finality. Hopkins lived over twenty years in the Plymouth plantation, and it was further recorded that one of his sons "became a seaman & dyed at Barbadoes." (*Cf. Of Plimoth Plantation*, p. 536.) Possibly the son was induced to go thither from hearing his father tell of Bermuda, and for a like reason his servant, Edward Litster, migrated to Jamestown.

† Here we find positive evidence of Newport's interposition in saving the life of a fellow-Englishman and a prospective settler, where before the evidence is more or less circumstantial, or derived from interested parties, as in the Wingfield instance. From this we may well reach the conclusion that Newport saved the life not only of Wingfield, but also of Smith, not once, but twice.

Unitie, &c." This minister, the Reverend Richard Buck—whose name was supplied by Purchas in a marginal note—was by no means idle. Like his predecessor at Jamestown, Master Robert Hunt, he held public prayer "every morning and evening at the ringing of a bell" and preached two sermons every Sunday, Strachey adding: "It pleased God also to give us opportunity to perform all the other offices, and rites of our Christian profession in this island."

Brief mentions of the marriages and births have been given above (p. 133); and Strachey recorded the burial of five persons, one of whom was murdered. Except those under Newport, the sailors were ever at odds with, or taking advantage of, the landmen or colonists. In this case, they rescued the murderer, a fellow seaman; and, after secretly feeding him in the woods, saved him from hanging through the "mediation of Sir George Summers," who "had his tryal respited by our Governour."

By the tenth of May both ships were completed; but getting away from the treacherous reefs of Bermuda was difficult, despite the careful survey Admiral Somers had made of all approaches and exits.²⁴ As it was, the *Deliverance* "struck a Rocke"; and "had it not been soft" coral, "we might have beene, like enough, to have returned anew and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefulnesse and great labour." Strachey described the *Deliverance* as being "fortie foot by the Keele, and nineteene foot broad at the Beame," and to the exposition of her sundry other measurements he added the interesting detail that the vessel was prepared against attack by having "a rising of halfe a foot more under her fore Castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with small shot, if at any time wee should bee borded by the Enemie." Incidentally, Governor Gates did not name the new flagship of "some eighty tunnes of burthen" until "shee began to swimme."*

With fair winds, the entire company arrived at the Chesapeake capes by May 21 (O. S.) where, off the "Indian Towne called Kecoughton, a mightie storme of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, gave us a shrewd and fearful welcome."

* The smaller pinnacle, the *Patience*, had been launched by Sir George Somers "about the last of Aprille," which was "by the Keele nine and twentie foot: at the Beame fifteene foot and an halfe."

ADDENDA

In connection with references to the conjectures of H. H. Furness and Rudyard Kipling as to the possibilities of Shakespeare's "milking some returned mariner" to secure material for *The Tempest*, Gayley sets forth a list of the words or expressions which appear to have been taken over by Shakespeare from Strachey's letter, of which the following examples, additional to those above quoted (p. 130) illustrate the point:

Of the tumult of the storm, Strachey says: "fury added to fury; . . . our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the hearts and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers"; and then: "We had now purposed to have cut downe the Maine Mast." In the *Tempest*, Shakespeare's boatswain orders "Down with the topmast," and hears *A cry within*. "A plague," he shouts, "upon this howling! They are louder than the weather or our office." Then the mariners: "All lost! To prayers! All lost!" On the same page with "the outcries," Strachey speaks of "the glut of water"; Shakespeare too in the same sequence: "Though every drop of water . . . gape at widest to glut him": the only appearance of that word "glut" in Shakespeare.²⁵

Also:

Not in Jourdan's narrative, or any other, of Gates' expedition do we find basis for parallels, verbal or incidental, such as the following. Any one might be fortuitous; but taken in the lump, they are impressive: Strachey's search for "running Springs of fresh water,"—and Caliban's "fresh springs" and "brine pits"; Strachey's "Berries, whereof our men seething . . . made a kind of pleasant drink,"—and Caliban's "water with berries in it"; Strachey's "Owles and Bats in great store" and a "kinde of webbe-footed Fowle, . . . which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our Lowbelling) were caught . . . which for their blindenesse were called the Sea Owle,"—and Sebastian's suggestion that they "go a bat-fowling" or (lowbelling) . . . Strachey's description of the "*Tortoise* . . . such a kind of meat, as a man can neither absolutely call *Fish nor Flesh*, keeping most what in the water, and feeding upon Sea-grasse like a *Heifer*,"—and Shakespeare's invention of Caliban, who is for Prospero "tortoise," for Trinculo, "Man or a fish? A strange fish!," for Stephano "moon-calf" on all occasions.²⁶

This passage is here quoted partly because of a claim set forth by Edward Everett Hale that Shakespeare based the story of *The Tempest* upon Gosnold's expedition of 1602 to the Elizabeth Islands in Buzzard's Bay, specifically Cuttyhunk.²⁷ Hale plays upon the connection between Shakespeare and his noble patron, Southampton, in that Southampton was a backer of the Gosnold expedition, of which Shakespeare must have known. While it is easily credible that Shakespeare knew of the expedition and that he might have used terms employed by Archer, the Cuttyhunk analogy cannot possibly account for "still vex't Bermoothes," or the tropical storm, together with many other matters. These were clearly based upon the Bermuda hurricane and upon the account thereof in Strachey's letter, which, as Professor Kittredge has observed, "must have circulated in manuscript and we may be reasonably sure that Shakespeare read it. The resemblance between Strachey's letter and *The Tempest* can hardly be accidental. How Shakespeare had access to Strachey's letter is a matter of conjecture. That he was personally acquainted with Strachey is all but certain."²⁸ Strachey's letter was given to the public in 1625; yet, despite the mass of material written about Shakespeare throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was not until the dawn of the twentieth that the Strachey account was discussed in this connection. At that time Morton Luce presented an exposition of scholars searching Europe for Shakespeare's sources in what may be called his American drama. Luce pointed out that after abandoning *Tempest* clues in various parts of the Old World, scholars had turned to some twelve contemporary documents associated with the Bermudian shipwreck, without, however, noting this all-important letter direct from Jamestown offering the details that Shakespeare used.*

* While special credit should be given to Luce, Furness, Gayley, and Hotson for working upon the Shakespeare-Strachey connection, a definitive comparison of all related passages may be found in Robert Ralston Cawley's "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*," in Volume XLI of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1926), 688-726; *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (Lancaster, 1938).

Chapter VII

CONFLICTING AUTHORITY

THE hurricane that wrecked the *Sea Venture* and detained Governor Gates at Bermuda also well-nigh wrecked the colony. Upon the arrival at Jamestown of the remaining vessels of the Gates-Somers fleet, Martin, Ratcliffe, and Archer were entitled to resume their offices as members of the Council. Smith, however, apparently with the support of the mariners, excluded them. He had fallen heir to the presidency on September 10, 1608, when, as he states, he caused all work to be stopped on a "palace" that his predecessor, President Ratcliffe, was building.* Under Ratcliffe, according to the Smith compilation, everything "vendible" had been squandered in trading with the savages. He declared that all but twenty of "two or three hundred" tools of all sorts had disappeared, in addition to pikeheads, knives, shot, and powder.¹ Nevertheless, according to his own account, he promptly set out upon an unparalleled course of barter with the neighboring Indian tribes. Although "Master Percy" and Councillors Wynne and Scrivener had reached but "poor conclusions" in their efforts to trade with the natives, he promptly persuaded the Nansemonds to deliver some of their corn rather than "we should take all" by force. He returned to Jamestown with two hundred bushels; but "long he stayed not."² On the next journey he went up the James. The Indians disappeared before him, until the Appomattox tribe was found. These divided equally that which they had and were given "copper in consideration."³

Thereafter, the new Council head conceived a project involving the capture or killing of Powhatan. Notwithstanding the treaty of peace, he planned to take this powerful werowance by "sur-

* Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 121; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, p. 433. This "palace" as such must have been imaginary, or editor Purchas confused it with the Governor's house built by Gates, Cf. "Instructions to Yeardley," November, 1618: *Records* III, 101-2: "And we do hereby ordain that the Governor's House in Jamestown first built by Sir Thomas Gates Knight . . . and since enlarged by others," etc.

prise" with "all his provision." Complaining that "Captain Winne and Master Scrivener, for some private respects, did their best to hinder" the project, he proposed to take advantage of an invitation by Powhatan "to come unto him" for purposes of trade; whereupon, on the pretense of building the werowance a house, his party would use it as a "castle" or fort and thereby effect Powhatan's capture or else his end. So, on this business bent, Smith "set forth in command of the Pinnace, two barges, and six and forty men." *

On the twenty-ninth of December, 1608, according to his earlier narrative, Smith started out for Werowocomoco, Powhatan's seat. Three "Dutchmen" and two Englishmen were first sent, by land, to build the house of Powhatan "against our arrival"—this number being increased, in his later account, to four and nine respectively. En route, he declared he discovered ample vindication for his proposed stratagem through hearing from a "kind savage" at Warraskoyack—who "did his best to divert" him from seeing Powhatan—that the latter had sent for the English "only to cut" their throats, whereupon Smith asked the werowance, "by way of trying his love," to furnish Michael Sicklemore with two guides "to search for the lost company of Sir Walter Raleigh, and silk grass," leaving with the king Samuel Collier, whom he called "his page," to learn the language. Having lodged at Kecoughtan several days to "keep Christmas amongst the savages, where we were never more merry . . . than in the dry, warm, smoky house," they were again on their way.†

Arriving at Powhatan's lodge about the middle of January, Smith found the river frozen over, so he and his men were compelled to break the ice and wade ashore "near middle deep" in muddy ooze. Quarters his company in some convenient

* Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 130; *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 447. This proposed Trojan house must not be confused with the house actually built by George Thorpe for Opechancanough, which had in view conversion rather than conflict or capture, *infra*, p. 304.

† Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 132; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 448. The word *wigwam* is not found in the several narratives of the Virginia pioneers. Nevertheless, it is a "correct term for the native dwellings of the Virginia Algonkians,"—Dr. Maurice A. Mook, in letter to author, August 7, 1941. Dr. Mook conjectures that "its first use in English was in Wood's 'New England's prospect,' 1634."

"houses," he sent to Powhatan for provisions, which were promptly forthcoming in the form of "bread, turkeys, and venison."⁴ Smith was now in Powhatan's power; for the Dutchmen had revealed to Powhatan "so much as they knew of our estates, and projects, and how to prevent them." Nevertheless, there passed several days of detailed haggling over trade, in which Smith would eventually succeed in outwitting the "subtle savage." There were long discourses in which Smith would catch Powhatan in deception, whereupon "the King concluded the matter with merry laughter." And here Powhatan is reported to have made his longest oration, in the course of which he declared there was so much terror among his people that, "If a twig but break, everyone crieth: 'There comes Captaine Smith.'"⁵

The battle of wits, having continued indefinitely, Smith at last "gave order for more men to come to shore, to surprise the King, with whom also he but trifled the time, till his men were landed" by saying that on the morrow he would lay aside his arms because of his trust in Powhatan, his "father." Powhatan, however, was himself preparing a surprise, and "left two or three of the women talking with the Captaine, whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house. Which, being at the instance discovered to Captaine Smith, with his Pistol, Sword and Target, he made such a passage among those naked divils, that they fled before him, some one waie, some another: so that, without hurt, he obtained [reached] the Corps du guard."

The 1612 story of Smith's departure or escape from the snares of Powhatan ends with the captain's safe return to his boat bearing presents from Powhatan and much corn; but in his later narrative, in addition to extended accounts of orations and counter-orations with Powhatan, we have a supplement that includes another interposition of Pocahontas, who:

In that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent us by and by: but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come kill us all with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore, if we would live, shee wished us presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he would have given her: but with the teares running down her cheeks,

she said she durst not be seene to have any: for, if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead, and so, shee ranne away by her selfe as she came.⁶

Captain Smith's next adventure is at Pamunkey, the seat of Opechancanough; but when he and his party went to trade, they found only one "lame fellow, and a boy" with every house abandoned and empty. Then Opechancanough arrived with many of his warriors equipped with bows and arrows, but with such poor "commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captain protests." After a formal oration in which Smith spoke of the love that had been professed by Opechancanough, and of the code of honor under which kings must keep their promises, threatening force, if these promises were not kept, Opechancanough agreed to trade; nevertheless, when Smith with fifteen men marched from the barges to Opechancanough's house, he found himself and his company "all betrayed: for at least seven hundred Salvages, well armed, had invironed the house, and beset the fields."⁷

The news of the betrayal came while Smith was conversing in the "house" of the werowance, who, hearing the message announced, conjectured its meaning. Smith met the situation with one oration to his men to hold firm and another addressed to Opechancanough. His dismayed followers Smith "encouraged" by telling them he had no fear of the odds, "if you dare doe, but as I." As he put it, he would have preferred to fight; but even if he had won, the "malicious Council" in Virginia would make him out a "peace-breaker" and so report him to the Council in England in such fashion "as will breake my necke." As for the fury of the savages, cried Smith, "It is the least danger; for well you know, being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them, I made them, by the help of God compound to save my life. And wee are sixteene, and they but seaven hundred at the moste."⁸

After he had finished this address to his company, the captain turned to the king of the Pamunkeys: "I see, Opechancanough, your plot to murder me, but I feare it not. . . . Take, therefore, your Armes, you see mine, my body shall bee as naked as yours: the Isle in your river is a fit place, if you be contented: and the

conqueror (of us two) shall be Lord and Master over all our men." Refusing the challenge, Opechancanough tried to "appease Smith's suspicion [*sic*] of unkindness" by offering the latter a present outside the door, "where the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying under a great tree (that lay thwart, as a barricado) each his arrow nocked, ready to shoot." His patience being exhausted, Smith "in such a rage, snatched the King by his long Locke, in the midst of his men, with his Pistol readie bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling King, neare dead with feare amongst all his people," whereupon all the savages "cast down their arms." Then "holding the King by the hair" he made an oration to the assembled Pamunkeys in which he dared them to "shoot but one Arrow" or "shed one drop of blood."⁹

Smith, being "overweari'd," left others to attend to receiving the presents and "retyred himselfe to rest." Thereupon, "some salvages, perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard somewhat carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choise men each with a club or an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house with two or three hundred others, that pressed, to second them." All this "did so shake the house" that Smith was awakened. Betaking him "straight to his sword and Target," he and "some others" quickly "cleansed" the place, upon which Opechancanough "and some of his ancients . . . with a long Oration, excused this intrusion." The day having ended "with much kindnesse," Smith was on his way down the York.¹⁰

INCIDENTS OF SETTLEMENT

During the period between the arrival of Admiral Newport with the second supply and his return after the wreck of the *Sea Venture* in 1610, several events worthy of mention took place; for example, one of the women who came with the second supply was the wife of Thomas Forrest, whose maidservant, Anne Buras, was, in 1608, married to John Laydon, a carpenter, in the first such ceremony celebrated in the Anglo-American colonies. In 1609, their first child was christened Virginia, as had been the lost

grand-daughter of Deputy-Governor John White at Roanoke some twenty years before.*

With three members of the Virginia Council in England, the little colony was visited with a serious calamity in the loss by drowning of Anthony Gosnold, Richard Waldo, and Matthew Scrivener, with eight others, when their shallop capsized in the James river. Upon hearing this, Smith intimated that the death of Scrivener was a judgment visited upon him for his opposition to the proposed plan for surprising Powhatan. This misfortune was followed by the loss of Captain Wynne, the cause of whose death, with that of William Leigh, not being recorded. Wynne was evidently a person of distinction, for he was the appointee of Gates to act until the latter should arrive from Bermuda (*supra*, p. 132). As above stated, the commission was lost at sea and the only record we have written by Wynne is a letter he addressed to Sir John Egerton dated November 26, [1608], and but recently found and made public. Reflecting a cheerful optimism in a period that history has customarily associated only with difficulties and dissension, the letter begins (orthography modernized):

I was not so desirous to come into this country, as I am now willing here to end my days: for I find it a far more pleasant and plentiful country than any report made mention of. Upon the River which we are seated I have gone six or seven score miles, and so far is navigable; afterward I traveled between 50 or 60 miles by land, into a country called Monacon who owe no subjection to Powhatan; this land is very high ground and fertile, being very full of very delicate springs of sweet water: the air more healthful than the place where we are seated.

Captain Wynne offers further testimony as to the deadly marshes around Jamestown; and his letter throws additional light on an expedition of which we know comparatively little, assuming that he referred to the second expedition Newport led up the James river (*supra*, p. 112):

* John Laydon seems to have been one of those more fortunate settlers who did not find entry among the casualties of the so-called "starving time"; for we have a reference of March 8, 1620, in which one "John Laydon, an ancient planter, received a grant of 100 acres. He survived the General Massacre of 1622 and was living at Elizabeth City in 1625. Cf. Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 374, 617.

The people of Monacon speak a far differing language from the subjects of Powhatan, their pronounciation being very like Welsh, so that the gentlemen in our Company desired me to be their interpreter.

Continuing, he writes:

The commodities as yet known in this country—whereof there will be great store—is pitch, tar, soap ashes, and some dyes, whereof we have sent examples. As for things more precious I omit till time (which I hope will be shortly) shall make manifest proof of it.

In answer to a request for information about dogs in Virginia, Captain Wynne reported he could find no “bloodhounds,” nor did he hear of any “in this country; only the dogs which are here are a certain kind of curs like our wariners’ hey dogs in England; and they [the Indians] keep them to hunt their land fowls, as turkeys and such like, for they keep nothing tame about them.” *

During the summer of 1609, the Jamestown company was scattered, in order to sustain the settlers until crop time. Some went to live with friendly Indians, but a considerable group, sent to the oyster banks about twenty miles below Jamestown, recorded a new form of trouble, which they blamed on their diet of sea food, causing all their skins “to peel off, from head to foot, as if we had been flaide.” †

According to Smith’s account in the “Oxford Tract,” everything at Jamestown had gone wrong during the president’s absence

* For the first correct reproduction of this letter in full, see Andrews, *Virginia, the Old Dominion* (New York, 1937), pp. 39–40, from the original manuscript by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, item EL 1683. For an account of the finding and history of the letter see “Adventuring in Virginia,” by Norma Cuthbert, *Alumnae Bulletin* of Randolph-Macon Woman’s College, April, 1939, Vol. XXXII, No. 3.

† Brown, *First Republic*, p. 71. The matter was referred to Dr. Isaac R. Pels, who observed: “Naturally, one would think of a deficiency in the diet as causative of the exfoliation, but aside from severe pellagra I know of no food deficiency disease comparable to this. Nevertheless, it is perfectly possible in view of some of the (common) dermatoses which have been recently reported as due to or associated with diet deficiency. As far as I know, an exclusive sea-food diet has not been reported as causing desquamation.” It is possible that Smith was describing a very severe sunburn—the result of mid-summer wading naked or half naked in salt water. Not being accustomed to conditions under a hot Virginia sun, it would have been natural for these pioneers to have regarded the result as some strange malady.

from November, 1608, to February, 1609: "Al the provision of the store but that [which] the President had gotten, was so rotten with last somers rain [1608] and eaten with rats and wormes, as the hogs would scarsely eat it; yet it was the souldiers diet, till our returnes: so that wee found nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our tools, and a good part of our armes conveyed to the Salvages."¹¹ This wastage, he asserted, was not only stopped, but food was supplied "sufficient till the next harvest." Since the "fear of starving was abandoned," Smith divided the company into squads of "tens or fiftens," who spent "4 hours each day" in work, the rest "in pastimes and merry exercise,"¹² a division of labor and diversion which anticipated social concepts advanced in recent years.*

Smith, however, complained that the "damned Dutchmen" continued to "convey away powder, shot, swords, and tools." If this group perpetrated but half the evil things of which they were accused, Smith's mild profanity was justified; for, whatever his shortcomings, no one has accused Smith of excesses in drinking, eating, swearing, or carousing; hence we may accept the tribute of one Thomas Carleton that he was "free" from wine, tobacco, dice and oaths.¹³

During this stressful time, Smith tells of a personal encounter with Wochinchopunck, king of the Paspaheghs, who with forty men, "procured of Powhatan," lay in ambush at the glass house.¹⁴ Wochinchopunck, being unable to "persuade" Smith into the ambush, "attempted to have shot him." Smith was armed only with a short sword; but somehow he prevented the Indian's shot by grappling with him, while the savage, in turn, prevented Smith "from drawing his falchion" as he dragged Smith "into the river to drown him." The combatants "struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles [glasshouse workers] upon the sands, would have fled"; but Smith "held him by the

* Here Smith is alleged to have made his oft-quoted remark "that he that will not work, shall not eat."—Cf. *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 473. The suggestion of a similar Utopian idea may be found in a twentieth-century outline of a telic social order, or a society consciously planned, which the author thereof described as "Great, not because the ten-hour day becomes the four-hour day," but for other reasons as well. Cf. Harold Rugg, *The Great Technology* (New York, 1933), p. 19.

hair and throat till the Poles came in." The king was then led captive to the fort, and put in chains, while daily his "wives, children and people came to visit him." *

Smith described two other Indians, Kemps and Tassore, the "most exact villains in the countrie." With respect to the former there are two sharply different views. The opinion that he was a "villain" is seconded by Percy, who, at Governor Gates' command, led a punitive expedition against the Paspahighs and the Chickahominies. On the other hand, the "subtle savage" must have reformed, possibly as a convert to Christianity; for Lord Delaware became greatly attached to him, which regard Kemps appears to have reciprocated, since he remained at Jamestown in preference to living with his own people. As Strachey reported it: "Kemps, an Indian, who died the last yeare of the scurveye at Jamestowne, after he had dwelt with us almost one whole yeare, much made of by our lord generall, and who could speake a pretty deale of our English, and came orderly to church every day to prayers, and observed with us the keeping of the Sabbath, both by ceasing from labor and repairing to church." †

The colonists were fortunate in the arrival in July, 1609, of Captain Samuel Argall just when they had almost no food and the Indians little or no corn for barter. Argall had come on a fishing rather than a relief expedition, although he bore some orders and reproofs from the London Company directed to Smith as Council president, the nature of which is not known. Argall's ship, however, was "well furnished with wine and much other good provision," of which Smith wrote: "Though it was not sent us, our necessities was such as inforced us to take it."¹⁵ Like Smith, Argall was given to exploration and he took this occasion to make a survey of the Chesapeake Bay, or parts thereof.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151. What became of Powhatan's "forty men" at this juncture is not made clear. In his *Generall Historie*, Smith omits the Poles and states that the "President got such a hold on his throat he had near strangled the King." Drawing his sword, he would have "cut off his head" had not the savage "pitifully" begged for his life.

† Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, 53. During Smith's regime, Michael Sicklemore returned from the south with a report that there was "little hope and less certainty" of finding any survivors of the Roanoke settlement. The selection of Sicklemore for this mission may have had some personal significance since there had been someone by that name in the Raleigh colony.

THE SURVIVORS OF THE TEMPEST

The seven ships that survived the Bermuda hurricane had brought fresh colonists, including a number of women and children. With them, as above stated, came Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer. Four of these storm-battered ships arrived August 21, 1609, while the other three came in separately during the following fortnight. Consequently, it was too late in the season for the new settlers to plant and prepare for the following fall and winter. Many were ill or convalescing from their terrifying experience at sea, and much or most of their food had been spoiled by the mountainous waves that had sunk the *Catch* and wrecked the *Sea Venture*. The strongly partisan Smith narrative records only that which is bad and nothing good of these new "venturers," or of the returning pioneers. Among the newcomers were Ralph Hamor, subsequently a member of the Virginia Council; and Henry Spelman, an independent youth of good parentage who, with Hamor, were to supplement our knowledge of the colony through their writings. A subsequently notable personage, however youthful at the time, was Temperance Flowerdew, destined ten years later to be the wife of Sir George Yeardley, the first governor to preside over a representative assembly in the New World.*

The former councillors brought the news of the new charter, without, however, the document and the principal official appointed to enforce it. Smith tells the story of the Gates-Somers expedition as follows:

With 9 ships and 500 persons, they set saile from England in May 1609. A small catch perished at sea in a Herycano. The Admiral [flagship], with 150 men, with the two knights and their new commission, their bills of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, arived not. With the other 7, as Capitaines, arived Ratcliffe (whose right name was Sickelmore), Martin, and Archer: who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore.

* J. H. R. Yardley, *Before the Mayflower* (New York, 1931). The author follows Captain Yardley's findings as to Temperance Flowerdew and her family connections, including her arrival at this time, but the historical exposition of his volume relative to colonial events is faulty.

For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed [*sic*] and sent for England: yet now returning againe, graced by the title of Captaines of the Passengers, seing the admirall [the *Sea Venture*] wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strengthened themselves with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming against Captaine Smith, that they mortally hated him ere ever they see his face.¹⁶

There is, however, no evidence that Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin had been "troublesome at sea"; and, as above stated, they had visited England voluntarily. Hence, one is inclined to accept much since-accumulated testimony to the effect that it was Smith who, on their return, did much to "marre" matters on land, especially as Archer wrote to the Earl of Salisbury that Smith, "to strengthen his authoritie, accorded with the Mariners." Smith was entitled to hold office only until September 10, 1609, at the expiration of his year as president; yet he was not only unwilling for the returning councillors to have any hand in the government, but he appears also to have regarded the appointment of Gates as an illegal procedure; and in his later writings, he gave himself the title of "Governor," an office not named under the Charter of 1606.¹⁷ Smith further averred he would rather have met Spaniards than these his countrymen. Of the latter he writes:

To 1000 mischiefes these lewd * Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape il destinies. . . . Yet in charitie, we must endure them thus to destroy us; or by correcting their follies, have brought the worlds censure upon us, to have beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and left to our fortunes.¹⁸

Among long-lost papers pertaining to the first decade of Virginia or Anglo-American history, there appeared in 1922 a complete copy of Captain George Percy's letter to his brother, the Earl

* It should be noted that while Smith was by no means complimentary in his references to his associates, the word *lewd* did not mean then what it does now. From *lewd* people, meaning *lay* people, in the fifteenth century, the term in Smith's day had come to signify *foolish*, *bungling*, or *worthless*. It might even mean *not-spiritually-minded*, as John Winthrop used the word in referring to his childhood up to the age of ten: "In my youth," he wrote, "I was very lewdly disposed." Cf. "Christian Experience," *Winthrop Papers* (Boston, 1929, I, 154. Cf. also, Richard C. Trench, *Study of Words*, introd., p. 17.

of Northumberland. At the time of his writing this "Trew Relacyon" Percy was aware of the aspersions upon the character and performance of his fellow-pioneers, as set forth by Captain Smith, to whom Percy paid his respects as follows (spelling modernized):*

This relation I have here sent your Lordship is for two respects: The one to show how much I honor you, and desire to do you service, the other, in regard that many untruths concerning these proceedings have been formerly published wherein the author hath not spared to appropriate many deserts to himself which he never performed, and stuffed his relations with so many falsities, and malicious detractions, not only of this part and time which I have selected to treat of, but of former occurrences also.¹⁹

It is much too tedious to go into the numerous and frequently repeated details of the criticisms brought by Smith against his associates in the Virginia Council; but after accusing Martin of "cowardize" in particular and incompetence in general, he brings a charge against Captain Francis West that is of special interest, regardless of who may have been right or wrong in the controversy that ensued. According to this version, Martin had failed through cowardice, but West's ill-hap was due to recklessness. Smith, as President of the Council, ordered West to take one hundred and twenty men to the Falls of the James. Thereafter, Smith visited the encampment or settlement and professed disapproval of the site as "inconsiderately seated." He then made a deal with Powhatan for a better one; "but both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies [Captain West's company] refuse, contemning both him, his kind care, and authoritie."²⁰ Yet hardly had he departed before the savages attacked "those 120" there, slaying stragglers abroad in the woods. However, Smith's ship grounded nearby, which afforded opportunity for a "parlie" with the savages, who promptly "submitted," upon any terms, "to

* Cf. Lyon G. Tyler, in *Tyler's Quarterly* (1922), Vol. III, 259-282. E. D. Neill, in *Virginia Vetusta* (1885), printed brief extracts from the beginning and close of this document, of which Dr. Tyler observed: "George Percy, as is well known, was three times at the head of the affairs of the colony during the periods of the first and second charters. So any observations made by him on the Virginia of his period are of necessity of interest and value to historians."

the Presidents mercie" and "6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders" were "presentlie put by the heels." This statement is followed by an account of establishing the remainder of West's company in a "salvage fort," with "drie houses for lodgings, 300 acres of grounde ready to plant; and no place so strong, so pleasant, and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Nonsuch." The savages also he represents as being appeased. Thus all were friends; but when Captain West appeared to take his men away to "West Fort," "new turboiles arose," Nonsuch was abandoned, and Smith returned to Jamestown.²¹

Thereafter came the end of Smith's career in the colony. As he presents the story, some one "accidentally fired his powder as he was sleeping in his boat," so that it "tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9 or 10 inches square in a most pitifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths, he leaped over board in to the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drown'd." From that point "without either Chirurgion or chirurgery he was to goe neare one hundred miles to Jamestown," where he at once caused all things to be "prepared for peace or warres," with provisions obtained.²² Here Smith accuses Martin, Ratcliffe, and Archer of plotting to murder him "in his bed." Fortunately, he writes, the "mercillesse pistol" of the assassin failed, whereupon his "old souldiers importuned him to take off the heads" of these conspirators; but he "would not permit them," sending rather for the masters of the ships in order to make his "returne for England."

At the present time we have two contemporary accounts of Smith's visit to the Falls and of his departure for England, with additional notes by one of the narrators as to the cause of Smith's injury. In his *Relation of Virginea* Captain Henry Spelman wrote that Smith and Captain Francis West had quarrelled over a new settlement site near the Falls; and that Captain Smith had "afterward conspired with the Powhatan to kill Captain West, which plot took but small effect, for in the mean time Captain Smith was apprehended, and sent aboard for England."²³

In the above-mentioned letter to the Earl of Northumberland, Percy gives additional details; and since this message, like Spel-

man's, contains many abbreviations and early sixteenth-century symbols it seems best to adopt modern orthography and punctuation:

Shortly after, Captain Smith sent Captain Francis West, with one hundred and forty men, up to the falls with six months' victuals to inhabit there. Where, being reasonably well settled, divers of his men straggled from their fort, some of them coming home wounded. Others never returned to bring any tidings but were cut off and slain by the savages. So that in small process of time Captain Smith did take his journey up to the falls to understand how things were there ordered, when presently, after his coming thither, a great division did grow amongst them. Captain Smith, perceiving both his authority and person neglected, incensed and animated the savages against Captain West and his company, reporting unto them that our men had no more powder left them than would serve for one volley of shot; and so, Captain Smith returning to James Towne again, found to have too much powder about him, the which being in his pocket where the spark of a match lighted very shrewdly burned him.²⁴

What decisions were made in the Council of the London Company on Smith's return is lost to history, but Smith could get no further employment from that group. Later, he not only denounced the Company for alleged mismanagement of the Virginia business, but even cast reflections upon the English exiles in the Netherlands for not accepting his offer to repatriate themselves in Virginia under his guidance.

SMITH'S RECORD ANALYZED

The most amazing claims are made on behalf of Captain Smith by some writers, while unwarranted charges have been preferred by others. As previously stated, Smith was accused of inciting mutiny en route to Jamestown in 1606-1607, but no proof has been preserved to sustain the charges. We know only that he landed in Virginia a prisoner, on probation, as it were, under Admiral Newport's care; and that, apparently through Newport's desire to carry out the king's orders, he was subsequently allowed a seat in the Virginia Council. Two of the minor charges against him may be considered by way of illustrating their diversity. The charge that

he caused, even "indirectly," the drowning of the two councillors, Scrivener and Waldo, has no support beyond the coincidence that their boat capsized just after Scrivener's alleged refusal to aid in the plan to seize or kill Powhatan, and that Smith thought Scrivener's fate was deserved because of his previous refusal to co-operate in Smith's plans. On the other hand, the charge that he deliberately sold a newly arrived English youth to "little Powhatan," seems to be established. The youth was Henry Spelman, who slipped his bonds with "little Powhatan" rather by accident than design, going afterwards to the "great Powhatan" by whom he was, for a time, adopted. The story is thus told by Spelman, who had sailed from England in the *Unity* of Governor Gates' fleet:

From Cape Henry we sailed up the River Powhatan and within 4 or 5 days arrived at James town, where we were joyfully welcomed by our countrymen, being at that time about 80 persons under the government of Captain Smith, the President. Having here unladed our goods and bestowed some sennight or fortnight in viewing of the country, I was carried by Captain Smith our President to the Falls, to the little Powhatan where, unknown to me, he sold me to him for a town called Powhatan.*

Much evidence has been uncovered to show that Smith was recklessly ambitious and determined not only to gain control of the Council and rule the colony, but that he also was addicted to violent jealousy, for which we have his own testimony in abundance. Without question he now stands convicted of casting unjust aspersions upon the conduct and character of associates whom we know to have had honorable or at least notable records, particularly Christopher Newport. Undoubtedly some of the pioneers merited obloquy, since the colony was composed of a cross section of English society; and doubtless all the leaders had their human faults and failings. In Smith's narrative, however, the best fared no better than the worst; and it was on this wholesale condemnation that many writers have based their estimate of the first set-

* Spelman, *Relation of Virginia*, Arber, I, cii—spelling and punctuation modernized. Spelman had an eventful career in Virginia as interpreter and planter. He was killed by the Indians in 1623. He was the third son of Sir Henry Spelman, antiquary and historian, treasurer of the Guiana Company, and later, a member of the Council for New England.

tlers. The original error was not unnatural, since the Smith compilation then constituted almost the sole source material available. Similarly, the failure to take into account the religious aims of the London Company leaders was likewise due not only to Smith's reflections upon these leaders but also to his evident disdain for such impractical ideals, whether exhibited in connection with the founding of Jamestown or of Plymouth. With respect to treatment of the Indians, force, and yet more force, was his formula.

In connection with Smith's *Generall Historie*, we are told that the "proceedings" therewith presented are "Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Doctor Russell, Tho. Studley, Anas Todkill, Jeffra Abot, Richard Wiffin, Will. Phettiplace, Nathaniel Powell, Richard Pots—and the relations of divers other diligent observers."²⁵ This group, from time to time, is impersonally joined by "J. Smith." The names of additional penmen were given elsewhere as E. Harrington, R. Fenton, T. Momford, A. Bagnall, and W. Tankard; but it is difficult to believe that so many chroniclers were associated with the first years of the Jamestown settlement. To the above-mentioned list of writers there is surprisingly added that of the "Hon. G. Percy,"²⁶ for the period immediately preceding Smith's departure from the colony. Percy could hardly have made this contribution, since the substance thereof is contrary to the testimony of the long-lost letter to the Earl of Northumberland.

This portion of the Smith exposition is immediately followed by sweeping accusations of mismanagement displayed under Percy's presidency.²⁷ Since Smith had then returned to England, the latter revelations are accredited to the "examinations of Doctor Simons"; that period Simmonds (or Smith) named "the Starving Time," and as such it has gone down into history regardless of the "famishments" that preceded and followed it. The portion of Smith's narrative covering the period after his departure from Jamestown declared that the "commanders, officers, and Salvages [*sic*] daily consumed" the "Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived," of which the rest of the company "sometimes tasted" in small proportions. Yet, whatever may be said of the proceedings of some of those who arrived in the seven ships, it is unbelievable, from what we now know of their records, that

Captains Percy, West, and these other leaders should have consumed the live stock in riotous living while the company in general were forced to starve, or to eat "even the very skinnies of our horses" during the winter of 1609-1610; or that the colonists were lamenting "the losse of Captaine Smith."

While the story of starvation is partly corroborated by Captain Percy, one notes a marked difference as to the causes of the scarcity of supplies, for Percy's account of what followed the arrival of seven ships that survived the Bermudian tempest is as follows:

The passengers being no sooner well landed but presently a dissension did grow between them and Captain Smith then president, but after some debate all was quieted and pacified, yet Captain Smith fearing the worst and that the seamen and that faction might grow too strong and be a means to depose him of his government, so juggled with them by the way of feasting, expense of much powder and other unnecessary triumphs, that much was spent to no other purpose but to insinuate with his reconciled enemies and for his own vainglory, for the which we all after suffered. And that which was intolerable, did give leave unto the Seamen to carry away what victuals and other necessities they would.²⁸

The Smith account tells of cannibalism occurring after his departure, which he made the occasion of a jest at the expense of the colonists:

Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvage we slew and buried, the poore sort tooke him up againe and eat him; and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne; for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved: now whether shee was better roasted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not; but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of.²⁹

On the other hand, in the "True Declaration" of the London Council, the origin of the story is credited to "unhallowed creatures" who stole the *Swallow* (*infra*, p. 158) and, on returning to England, attempted to justify their desertion (spelling modernized, with italicized part as in the original):

These are that scum of men that failing in their piracy . . . bound themselves by mutual oath, to agree all in one report to discredit the

land, to deplore the famine, and to protest that this their coming away, proceeded from desperate necessity. These are they that roared out the tragical history of the man eating of his dead wife in Virginia; when the master of this ship willingly confessed before 40 witnesses, that at their coming away, they left three months' victuals, and all the cattle living in the fort. Sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible action, sometimes that Captain Davies said so, sometimes that one Beadle, the Lieutenant of Captain Davies, did relate it, varying this report into diversity of false colors, which hold no likeness and proportion. But to clear all doubts, Sir Thomas Gates thus relateth the tragedy:

*There was one of the company who mortally hated his wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in divers parts of his house. When the woman was missing, the man suspected, his house searched, and parts of her mangled body were discovered, to excuse himself he said that his wife died, that he hid her to satisfy his hunger, and that he fed daily upon her. Upon this, his house was again searched, where they found a good quantity of meal, oatmeal, beans, and peas. He thereupon was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was burned for his horrible villainy.*³⁰

The tale of the deserters lost nothing in the telling, and Ambassador Velasco reported to his royal master that the English in Virginia "are besieged by the Indians, most of them having died, and the rest are eating each other for hunger." Since Velasco was, like his predecessor, Zuniga, urging Philip III to exterminate the settlement, as Menendez had exterminated the French in Florida, it appears he could not have done his designs worse service than to lull the naturally inert monarch into thinking that the starving settlers were indeed devouring "each other."³¹

PERCY REPLACES SMITH

In the deposing of Captain Smith the three members of the Council then present, Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin, collaborated. Percy states correctly that Smith was authorized to hold office for one year only in accordance with the preordained royal rule of succession, "But Smith aiming at a sovereign rule without the assistance of the Council was justly deprived of all." At this time Percy was ill, and it was at the urgent request of "the three busy

instruements in the plantation," or the above mentioned trio, that he accepted the presidency of the Council. As president, his first act was to order a fort built at Point Comfort, which he named Algernon in honor of his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, the same being designed as a lookout for "shipping," hostile or otherwise, and as a good vantage point for fishing. He was laying plans to build another fort nearby and transfer thither the remainder of the settlers, when Governor Gates arrived.

Percy's management, or at least his planning, appears to have been good, but "accidents" interfered. The new arrivals were difficult to control. Some were overtrustful of the Indians and went to live with the savages, of whom the greater number were "never heard of after." Others, especially those who had been soldiers, presumably in the Netherlands, became so infuriated with constant Indian ambushes, killings, and torturing that in one instance, against Percy's wishes or instructions, they contrived the brutal slaying of the helpless captured Indian Queen of Paspahugh, together with her children.³² In his relation Percy denounced this act of vengeance as sheer "crewelty"; and whether he could have prevented the slaying or not, the soldiers and settlers produced an argument to the effect that Indian women had been foremost in the torture of their English victims, as in the case of Captain Ratcliffe, whose capture and death is thus described (spelling modernized):

I sent Captain Ratcliffe to Powhatan to procure victuals and corn by the way of commerce and trade, the which the subtle old fox at first made good semblance of, although his intent was otherways, only waiting a fitting time for their destruction, as after plainly appeared. The which was probably occasioned by Capt. Ratcliffe's credulity; for having Powhatan's son and daughter aboard his pinnace, freely suffered them to depart again on shore, whom if he had detained might have been a sufficient pledge for his safety. And after not keeping a proper and fitting Court of Guard, but suffering his men by two and three and small numbers in a company to straggle into the savages' houses, when the sly old king espied a fitting time, cut them all off, only surprised Capt. Ratcliffe alive, who he caused to be bound unto a tree naked with a fire before and by women his flesh was scraped from his bones with

mussel shells and before his face thrown into the fire. And so for want of circumspection, miserably perished.³³

The various narrators of events were as a rule sparing of praise with respect to others, while several were more than free in casting blame. However, except in the case of Smith's narrative, Admiral Newport alone received nothing but praise from all associated with him. Percy also comments upon the high character of Sir Ferdinando Weinman and twice upon the care and industry of Captain Daniel Tucker, once in the matter of managing the food supplies and again in the building of a much-needed boat.*

The incident that gave rise to the "scandalous" reports denounced by Governor Gates, (*supra*, p. 156) concerns the defection of the crew of the *Swallow*. En route to Jamestown it had been under the command of Captain Moon, one of the mariners especially praised by Smith as a faithful friend who "perceived the malice of Ratcliffe and Archer."³⁴ The defection of the men aboard the *Swallow* is described in the *True Declaration* as follows:

You shall know that 28 or 30 of the company were appointed (in the ship called the *Swallow*) to truck for corn with the Indians, and having obtained a great quantity by trading, the most seditious of them conspired together, persuaded some, and enforced others, to this barbarous project. They stole away the ship, they made a league amongst themselves to be professed pirates, with dreams of mountains of gold, and happy robberies: thus at one instant, they wronged the hopes, and subverted the cares of the colony, who depending upon their return, fore-slowed to look out for further provision: they created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered: they carried away the best ship (which should have been a refuge, in extremities:) they weakened our forces, by subtraction of their arms, and succors.³⁵

* "I appointed Capt. Tucker to calculate and cast up our store. The which at a poor allowance of half a can of meal for a man a day amounted unto three months' provision, yet Capt. Tucker by his industry and care caused the same to hold out four months . . . Capt. Daniel Tucker by his great industry and pains builded a large boat with his own hands." He also noted the passing of Weinman, of whose services we would know more: "Sir Ferdinando Wayman about this time died, whose death was much lamented, being both an honest and valiant gentleman."

Percy's account of this episode involves Francis West, Lord Delaware's brother, but exculpates him from blame in that he was "inforced" by the mutineers in question.

THE SMITH NARRATIVES

A tabulation of the eulogies of Captain Smith in his *True Relation* and the *Generall Historie* helps to reveal his personality. Of these there are some threescore, exclusive of thirty laudatory poems. The encomiums have a wide range, from double-action ones derogatory of others "envying his repute,"³⁶ to the subtle references to be drawn from the account of his resisting the siren Indian maidens. The reader feels obliged to take with salt his claim to have subjugated "nine and thirty kings." In one place he describes himself as discovering Virginia and in another he founds Jamestown. Growing even more enthusiastic in his last narrative, he declares that Jamestown and Plymouth and all other American "discoveries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my own sow."³⁷ Usually the story of his achievements is given in the third person, except for an occasional change. Later, the first person appears outright, as in the following:

These fourteene yeres [1606-1620] I have spared neither pains nor money, according to my abilitie, in the discovery of *Norumbega*; where with some thirty seaven men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and five, against the fury of the Salvages, I began that plantation now in *Virginia*; which beginning (here and there) cost me neare five years worke, and more than five hundred pound of my owne estate; beside all the dangers, miseries and incomberances and losse of other employments I endured *gratis*.*

In the thirty laudatory poems included in his *Works*, one finds, as perhaps the most insistent concept, the malicious "envy" of others, which thought receives its emphasis throughout the text of Smith's narrative; in fact, the word *envy*, with its derivatives or

* *Works*, Arber, I, 242-243. *Norumbega* was one of the names applied to North America before Queen Elizabeth called it Virginia. Incidentally, there is no evidence that he paid in more than £9 to the treasury of the Virginia-London Company, a subscription that gave him official rating as a "sub-adventurer," since that amount did not cover the price of one share of stock.

equivalents, appears in fourteen of these poems. In one poem, three such versifiers are represented as collaborating on the production of some thirty-eight lines.* None of the contributions ranks as good poetry, and the most comprehensive is a rambling product by Samuel Purchas, Smith's editor. Two of the poems may offer an explanation for the production of the entire collection, as Edward Ingham expresses it in lines addressed "To my well deserving friend, Captaine John Smith":

Thou hast no need to covet new applause,
Nor doe I thinke vaine-glory moves thee to it;
But since it is thy will (though without cause)
To move a needlesse thing, yet will I doe it. . . .

Another contributor, who prefers anonymity, writes:

Amongst so many that by learned skill,
Have given just prayse to thee, and to thy Booke,
Deare friend receive thy pledge of my good will,
Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke.
And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the rest:
Use thy discretion, I have done my best.

Thomas Jefferson expressed the view that Smith's "style is barbarous and uncouth."³⁸ Perhaps by this Jefferson meant that his narratives are difficult to follow; but there are many passages which delight the reader by their picturesque phraseology. Words and phrases now obsolete or of greatly changed meaning, are liberally employed, such as "tuftaffaty" for lavishly dressed, "turboiles" or "garboiles" for turmoils, "after livers" for successors, "Italianated and Spaniolized Englishmen"; and such expressions as "defailment" for failure, "imbesling" for common thefts, "jealous" for fearful or alarmed.†

On the negative side, perhaps the best estimate of Smith's works has been presented by J. Franklin Jameson in his *History of Historical Writing in America*, in which he says of Smith: "He writes,

* Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, and Richard Wiffing.

† "Jealous" occurs in the following passage descriptive of Smith's return from exploring the Chesapeake Bay in the *Discovery*, which he caused to be trimmed "with painted streamers and such devises," making the Jamestown people "jealous" (afraid) it was a "Spanish frigot." Perhaps we may say that this is the first instance of a practical joke recorded in American history, unless the use of English mustard upon Indian guests was so intended by Gosnold or Archer (*supra*, p. 26).

by preference, of encounters, of explorations, of opportunities for present gain, as one who is directing a band of adventurers, not as one who is thoughtfully laying foundations for the gradual growth of a mighty state." *

Of the *True Relation*, Dr. Jameson says: "It is mainly occupied with the personal adventures of Smith himself, the exploring expeditions which he conducted, and his dealing with the Indians. Not much is told us of events at Jamestown. While that little is valuable, in the paucity of eye-witness accounts of the first year's doings, its value is much diminished, or at least rendered doubtful, by the fact that it is everywhere seen to be colored by Smith's hostility to certain fellow-members of the Council."³⁹

In reading the Smith narratives it has been noted that certain of his personal adventures improve with repetition in the sense of reflecting further credit upon the participant. Since his principal editor-advocate, Master Purchas, admits the omission of testimony unfavorable to Smith—whether true or false—as in the story of the mutiny en route to Virginia; and since author and compiler had access to the narratives of other "venturers" in America, one cannot but note what seems to be a borrowing of details, especially when similarities are observed between incidents related by Governor Lane at Roanoke Island and those attributed to Captain Smith at Jamestown. For these alleged borrowings Smith must have shared responsibility. In the matter of illustrations, however, the printer also may be held responsible; and the latter conclusion seems unavoidable after the perusal of a bulletin on the De Bry engravings prepared by Randolph G. Adams of the William L. Clements Library.⁴⁰ Dr. Adams has traced the uses to which the White-De Bry illustrations were put. For example, a werowance sketched by Governor White at Roanoke Island and described as a "Great Lord of Virginia" serves in Smith's *Generall Historie* as a portrait of the "King of Pamaunkee."

PERCY'S ADMINISTRATION

Since for three centuries the brunt of unfavorable criticism of conditions at Jamestown has fallen upon the administration of

* There is in Smith's writings no inkling of the greater plans and purposes of the projectors of the first colony.

Captain George Percy, it is well to review the same in the light of new or neglected material that has been steadily accumulating from the 'findings' of Peter Force in the 1830's to the publication of the letter of Captain Peter Wynne and the petition of Captain John Martin⁴¹ in the 1930's. While not susceptible of absolute proof, the weight of the evidence, as above pointed out, indicates that Percy had to treat with an exceptional number of unruly spirits. These had come over in the great fleet; and even at Bermuda, where food was plentiful and living easy, we find Governor Gates and Admiral Somers contending with such characters in three separate "mutinies." Among these malcontents were, on the one side, mariner Robert Waters, the murderer; and, on the other, Stephen Hopkins, a "mutineer" who was by no means vicious but strongly individualistic with radical politico-religious opinions that made him defiant of established authority. Individual reformers of this type could cause as much or more trouble than the merely vicious, and it is not only conceivable but susceptible of proof that the anticipated freedom of the New World attracted this type.

In reviewing the period of Percy's presidency, it has been the custom of many writers merely to point to the fact that in spite of the arrival of the "third supply" in 1609 there were in 1610 only "about sixty" colonists left, whom Gates was preparing to take back to the mother country. Since, in such cases, comparisons are illuminating, it may be stated that during the winter of 1620-1621 at Plymouth, Governor Bradford reported: "In 2. or 3. months time halfe of their company dyed," in other words, "that of 100 & odd persons, scarce 50. remained." "And of these in the time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons."⁴² Also, there may be cited Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland where "of 100 persons, fifty" were "sick at a tyme";⁴³ and we may further compare these instances with the first summer of 1607 at Jamestown where all of the one hundred pioneers were reported sick, of whom fifty-odd had died.

Assuming that all five hundred persons reported at Jamestown in the early summer of 1609 were actual or prospective settlers, without a considerable admixture of seamen from the seven vessels saved from the tempest, we should first consider the extraordi-

nary number of deaths at the hands of the savages. Definite figures are given in relation to three disasters—seventeen lost in Sicklemore's company; eleven under West at the Falls, and Captain Ratcliffe with twenty-six men on the York. Again, there were "divers slain" at Kecoughtan, unlisted "stragglers" at the Falls and at Jamestown, besides "many" who visited the Indians and were never heard of again.⁴⁴ It seems safe to say that one fifth were lost thus in a manner not in common with the first group at Roanoke Island, the Pilgrims at Plymouth, or in Lord Baltimore's colony, at Avalon. Furthermore, thirty had left Virginia in the *Swallow*. The remainder of the casualties may be assigned to the summer "seasoning" period of malarial infection peculiar to the Jamestown locale, in addition to dietary diseases in the winter, to say nothing of the possibilities of typhoid, together with diseases conveyed in at least one of the infected ships of the Gates-Somers fleet.

Finally, it may be noted that in the "True and Sincere Declaration" the London-Virginia Company intimated that some of the colonial troubles had their origin in the personal ambitions of certain "commanders." Unfortunately for the historian these "commanders" were not named, doubtless to avoid further recriminations. That these "shortcomings" were not attributed to Archer, Ratcliffe, and Martin appears in the fact that the Declaration praised those pioneers who had shown themselves "desirous to go back to that which they account and call their owne home." This willingness to return to a land visited by death in manifold form was cited in support of the point that, with regard to "want of victual," the "noise have exceeded the truth, yet we confesse a great part of it." Then, by way of further explanation of the lack of material success, the Declaration pleads "First, the Tempest, and can any man expect an answer for that?" The argument closed with an appealing reference to the original interest of Raleigh, who was "yet alive," albeit incarcerated in the Tower; while a brighter future was predicted for Virginia under Lord Delaware, "a Baron and Peere of . . . approved courage, temper, and experience," who "shall expose himself for the common-good to all these hazards and paines which we feare and safely talke of, that sit idle at home; and heare a great part upon his own charge."

With regard to the lack of tidings of the *Sea Venture*, the Company held out hope for Governor Gates in the words: "The loss of him is in suspence and much reason for his safety against some doubt; and the hand of God reacheth all the Earth."⁴⁵

Chapter VIII

NADIR AND UPSWING

DURING the summer of 1609, the mysteriously inevitable sickness of the two preceding summers had again racked the bodies of the settlers. Besides the chills and fevers, there were other ills. On October 4, Captain Ratcliffe addressed a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, lord high treasurer and principal secretary of state which, with punctuation and spelling modernized, is, in part, as follows:

Right honorable: According to your gracious favour being bound, I am bold to write the truth of some late accidents befallen his Majesty's Virginia Colony. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, Captain Newport and 180 persons or thereabout are not yet arrived and we much fear they are lost, and also a small pinnace.

The other ships came all in, but not together. We were thus separated by a storm, two ships had great loss of men by the calenture and most of them all much weather beaten. At our arrival we found an English ship riding at Jamestown and Captain Argall her commander. We heard that all the Council [left in Virginia] were dead, but Captain Smith, President, who reigned sole governor without assistants and would at first admit of no Council but himself. This man is sent home to answer some misdemeanors, whereof I persuade me he can scarcely clear himself from great imputation of blame.

Mr. George Percy, my Lord of Northumberland's brother, is elected our President, and Mr. West, my Lord la War's brother of the Council, with me and Captain Martin; and some few of the best and worthiest that inhabit at Jamestown are assistants in their advice unto us.¹

Besides telling of sending Smith back to England and of the election of George Percy as President of the Council, the letter tells of one hundred settlers being sent to the Falls of the James, while others were placed upon high ground nearby, with President Percy remaining at Jamestown, while Ratcliffe himself was busy "raising a fortification upon Point Comfort."

Before completing the story of happenings in the colony during its most critical period from June, 1609, to the arrival of Lord Delaware in 1610, it is appropriate briefly to review the "instructions" that were given Gates by the Virginia-London Company's Council and issued under the authority granted the Company by the Charter in May, 1609.² These instructions consisted of thirty-six articles. First of all, Governor Gates was warned not to go by the old route via the West Indies because the Council had reason to suspect a Spanish trap. Then, having "safely attained the King's River, and our port and seat of James Town," Gates was to set aside the old order and proclaim the new one. He was further directed to call together the "principal officers and gentlemen," who would constitute a new Council. These, however, were to have advisory functions only, for it was specifically "provided that they shall not have, single nor together, any binding or negative voice or power" upon the conclusions of the Governor, who could make new appointments or revoke those made.

The document directed that "principal order and care" should be taken "for the true and reverent worship of God" according to the forms of the Anglican church. With all diligence Gates was to endeavor to bring the "natives to the knowledge and worship of the true God and their redeemer, Christ Jesus, as the most pious and noble end of this plantation," to which end it was suggested that the process might be hastened by a judicious mixing of love and force. In short, it was indicated that it might be well to procure from the savages some of their children; and, if "convenient," to remove them from their priests by "a surprise" and for "detaining them prisoners." *

Martial rule was permitted "in case of rebellion or mutiny," otherwise the Governor was to administer justice "rather as a chancellor than a judge" and upon "natural right and equity than upon the niceties and letter of the law."³

* *Records of the Virginia Company*, III, 14-15; also, with respect to the instructions to Lord Delaware, *ibid.*, III, 27.

Under date of June 8, 1617, John Rolfe observed in a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys: "Indians very loving, and willing to part with their children." This, however, was after the peace with Powhatan following the capture of Pocahontas and her marriage to Rolfe.—*Cf.* Ferrar Papers, Rolfe to Sandys, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, X, 135.

Except for the significant direction that a new capital site be chosen, removed from the marsh land and "bad air" of Jamestown, the remainder of the instructions as to what should be done, or avoided, represented the advice, minutely detailed, of persons unfamiliar with colonial conditions. It would be interesting to have a record of what the experienced settlers had to say as to these recommendations; but the directions were in large measure disregarded, including the plan for a new capital site. This last must have been considered by all concerned as desirable, yet the conditions of removal to a site far from a navigable stream, or beyond the Falls, must have discouraged the proposed change, especially as the move involved the erection of new fortifications.

That the London Council still had in mind the colony at Roanoke Island is shown by their orders to secure Indian guides to go "four days journey from your fort southwards." The London Council even suggested that Gates might "safely" make there his "principal and chief seat," where "you shall find four of the English alive, left by Sir Walter Raleigh."⁴

PERCY'S RELATION

For the period after the departure of Captain Smith in October, 1609, to the arrival of Governor Gates in the following May, the story of Virginia happenings was almost wholly dependent upon Smith's compilation until the appearance in recent years of Percy's "Trew Relacyon." Although in this "Relation" we find another soldier's narrative, replete with adventures, many of which are personal, we nevertheless learn something therefrom about the doings of the colonists, and of their attitude towards the Virginia venture. In addition to the illustrative incidents already given covering the period of his presidency, Percy describes the arrival of Gates and Somers from Bermuda. At that time Percy was planning to move a number of the settlers to Algernon Fort by "the very next tide," when all were startled by the news that two ships were coming into the Bay; so that night they kept on guard for fear the Spaniards had at last come to carry out their oft-repeated threats of extermination. The next morning there were numerous hailings and counterhailings across the water off Algernon Fort; for Gates

and Somers, guided by Newport, had to be convinced that this was no enemy stratagem.

Both old and new colonists went up to Jamestown where the newcomers read a "lecture of misery in our people's faces." Finding famine threatening all alike, with no hope at this season of food from the Indians, "it was resolved upon by Sir Thomas Gates and the whole colony with all speed to return for England, whereupon most of our men were set to work" to make pitch and tar, bake bread, and all necessary preparations, "so that in a small space of time four pinnaces were fitted and made ready."

Some of the company were in favor of burning the town, but Gates detailed Captain George Yeardley to prevent any such plan and arrange for an orderly embarkation; and thereby Yeardley saw to the preservation of the colonial capital where nine years later he himself was to preside over the first General Assembly. Consequently, on the night of June 17, 1610, Jamestown was deserted; but when the morning dawned, the departing company met, a few miles down the river, Captain Edward Brewster bearing the news from Fort Algernon that Lord Delaware, Governor and Captain General, had arrived with one hundred and fifty colonists.

For the new Governor, the prospect immediately before him was not a happy one. He had, however, learned of the survival of Gates and those on board the *Sea Venture*, whom all England had never expected to see again. But for this "happie newes," he wrote, the lamentable state of the colony "had binne sufficiente to have brooke my hart and to have made mee altogether unable to have Donne my King or countre anie service."⁵

By direction of the London Company, Delaware had brought food and other supplies, with many craftsmen, and "knights and gentlemen of quality." He himself recognized the spiritual value of a show of prestige and authority befitting the beginnings of the "new nation." Consequently, arrangements were made for a properly impressive ceremony to mark his induction into office. With Secretary Strachey acting as color bearer, and Yeardley and his soldiers drawn up to greet him, Lord Delaware made formal landing on the afternoon of Sunday, June 20. After having knelt in

prayer, he proceeded to the church where all listened to a sermon by the Reverend Richard Buck.

After the loss of the "good Master Hunt" some of the "well-willers" of Virginia had expressed the thought that one reason why the colony had been visited by disaster was due to the lack of a minister. In any event, Lord Delaware lost no time in restoring the church. The edifice was made "very light" inside with "fair broad windows"; and, in time, it was "kept passing sweet and trimmed up with flowers," a procedure which was, no doubt, cheerfully fulfilled by the women. As in the days of Master Hunt, services were held twice a day, while, according to Delaware's wish to make public proceedings duly impressive, the Sunday ceremonies were quite elaborate:

When the Lord Governor went to church he was accompanied with all the Councillors, Captains, other officers, and all the gentlemen, and with a guard of fifty Halberdiers in his Lordship's Livery, fair red cloaks, on each side and behind him. The Lord Governor sat in the choir, in a green velvet chair, with a velvet cushion before him on which he knelt, and the council, captains, and officers sat on each side of him.⁶

The new Advisory Council presided over by the Lord Governor were: Sir Thomas Gates; Sir George Somers, Admiral of Virginia; Christopher Newport, now Vice-Admiral; Captain George Percy; Sir Ferdinando Weinman, master of ordnance; and William Strachey, secretary. Captain John Martin was made master of the battery works, and among those calling for special mention are Ralph Hamor, destined to be Strachey's successor as secretary; George Yeardley, Captain of the Governor's guard; and Captain Daniel Tucker. Among the women were Jane Pierce, who was to become the third wife of John Rolfe; and Temperance Flowerdew, the future Lady Yeardley.⁷

EARLY PHYSICIANS

In attempting to provide a cure for the Jamestown "fluxes," agues and fevers, Dr. Lawrence Bohun and his fellow-physicians experimented with various native plants, roots, and herbs. In

Strachey's account of the extraordinary efforts that were made from time to time to grow all varieties of English seeds, together with tropical plants from the West Indies, he gives a glimpse of Dr. Bohun's activities in the following paragraph:

For the likelihood of growing of sugar-can'es, we have some probable hopes, by reason of the greatnes and sweetnes of the stalke of the country wheat [Indian corn], and the soile being aromaticall, as I may speake, by the *saxafras*, *galbanum mechoacon*, otherwise called *rubarbum album*, of which Dr. Bohun made triall in cold and moist bodies, for the purginge of fleame and superfluous matter; as also a whit bole, which Dr. Bohun calls *Terra alba Virginensis*, both aromaticall, and cordiall, and diapharetick, in pestilent and malignant feavers; and some other druggs; it can be put some litle tyme industriously spent to make tryall of this soe rich comoditye.⁸

As a remedy, quinine, called the "Peruvian bark," had come into limited use by Europeans through Spanish sources in South America. The colonists noticed that the paint and grease with which the Indians adorned their bodies served as a protection against the mosquitoes, but they little dreamed that these insects were the carriers of disease. Campaigns against the Indians were initiated at this time, but campaigns against mosquitoes were not declared until the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, the paints and oils of the aborigines may have had still another purpose—that of nullifying the activities not only of mosquitoes but also of a plague of fleas; for example, when Ralph Hamor and his companions visited Powhatan, they were accorded the hospitality of a dwelling concerning which Hamor observed: "We had not bin halfe an houre in the house before the fleas began so to torment us that wee could not rest there, but went forth, and under a broade oake, upon a mat reposed our selves that night."⁹

The paternalistic attitude of the Company is further indicated in the instructions to Governor Gates, in which leisure time was suggested as three hours a day in the summer months and two hours in the winter, an arrangement which reversed John Smith's idealistic existence of four hours' work a day and the rest devoted to the pursuit of happiness (*supra*, p. 146). Paved streets were not

demand, which contemporary London itself largely lacked, but the market place was to be "paved and made firm and dry."¹⁰ However, since there was no stone in the Jamestown neighborhood, the task of paving must have been difficult indeed, if the colonists attempted to carry out these instructions.

INDIAN ATTACKS AND ENGLISH REPRISALS

Contrary to the hopes of the more idealistic "adventurers" in the London Company, Delaware's tenure of office in Virginia was destined to see far less of plans for conversion of the savages than of fights and even campaigns conducted against them in a manner hitherto not practised, if not forbidden, by the Company. Under the new dispensation, Lord Delaware had been given free rein to do what seemed in his judgment best; and it is to his credit that he first approached Powhatan in an effort to attain peace through negotiation.¹¹ When the effort served but to provoke Powhatan's scorn followed by further Indian hostilities, Delaware, with the support of long-suffering colonists eager for reprisals, began a series of direct attacks, several brief accounts of which have been preserved, particularly in the "Relation" of Captain Percy and the "Discourse" of Ralph Hamor.

Lord Delaware had at hand an active instrument of vengeance in Sir Thomas Gates. Finding the American Indians both treacherous and deadly, he planned to deal with them in kind. The incident which stirred Gates to action took place on July 16 when the Indians waylaid and killed before his eyes Humphrey Blunt, who had been sent ashore from Gates's vessel to secure the long boat belonging to Algernon Fort. Consequently, some three days later the Governor carried out the first major reprisal of the Virginia settlers, described by Captain Percy as follows:

Then Sir Thomas Gates being desirous for to be revenged upon the Indians at Kecoughtan did go thither by water with a certain number of men and amongst the rest a taborer with him. Being landed he caused the taborer to play and dance thereby to allure the Indians to come unto him, the which prevailed. And then espying a fitting opportunity fell in upon them, put five to the sword, wounded many others,

some of them being after found in the woods with such extraordinary large and mortal wounds that it seemed strange they could fly so far. The rest of the savages he put to flight.¹²

Leaving Jamestown that autumn, the governor caused a fort to be built at the Falls and intended to winter there, leaving Percy in charge at Jamestown. However, Wochinchopunk, "king of the Paspaheghs," described by Secretary Strachey as "one of the mightiest and strongest savages Powhatan had under him," lay between these forts or settlements eager to continue the stealthy stratagems by which he had surprised the English. Captain Percy now sought an opportunity to seize the werowance, "alive if possible." So when the "king of the Paspaheghs," with a small group of warriors, allowed several Englishmen to approach, apparently to trade, Ensign John Waller suddenly "caught hold of him and gave the watch word" for the others. The savages, however, had men in hiding who let fly their arrows. Thereupon, Captain Powell, finding the werowance too strong in the struggle, "thrust him twice through the body with his sword," whilst "Lieutenant Puttock, encountering with one of the savages hand to fist, grappled with him and stabbed him to death with his poniard." Biding their time, the werowance's warriors took ample revenge some weeks later when they, in turn, enticed Lieutenant Puttock and his men into an ambush with results disastrous to the English.*

It appears that whenever a military captain fell upon disaster, the blame was, justly or unjustly, put upon disobedience of orders by subordinates. This applied to Smith, Percy, or others in command. In any event, Puttock had sallied forth in pursuit of some Indians skulking around the blockhouse, and pursuing them with "more fury than judgment" led his men into an ambush. All were "cut off," but the triumphant yells of the savages attracted English reinforcements from the fort, who had the melancholy satisfaction of recovering the bodies of their comrades. According to the account, the Indians indicated their sense of revenge by crying "Paspahegh! Paspahegh!"

* Percy, 275. Strachey described the Paspahegh incident as follows: "The lieutenant of the blockhouse, one Puttock, followed hard and overreached one of the cronockoes or chief men, and, closing with him, overthrew him, and, with his dagger, sent him to accompany his master in the other world."—*Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 59-60.

Indian nomenclature is sufficiently difficult at best, but the narrators of these events, accustomed to spelling their own names differently, or indifferently, seem to have tried themselves on extra letters and syllables in recording the names of the Virginia Indians. The Queen of the Appomattucks, mentioned by Smith as being at the court of Powhatan, was named Opussoquionuske, by Strachey called "a weroancqua." Previously, she had lured some fourteen Englishmen to their deaths by inviting them to her town "to feast and make merry," after first persuading her guests to leave their arms in their boat lest they affright their hostesses. Now, under the new plan of reprisals, she suffered the burning of her village, while many of her warriors were slain and she herself wounded or killed as the savages fled into the forest.*

Despite Dr. Bohun's trial of English physic and Virginia herbs, the summer sickness was raging as usual, so when Lord Delaware and his advisers were preparing a report for the London Council, the majority of those at Jamestown were already taken down with agues, fevers, and fluxes, including Delaware himself, who as others had done before him, tried sleeping on board a vessel.† Sir George Somers, with Captain Argall, had already left for the Bermudas to get provisions. Somers died en route and was buried in the islands which, for some time, perpetuated his name in alternative nomenclature. The Admiral's departure was followed by that of Sir Thomas Gates and Newport in the *Blessing* and the *Hercules* loaded with cedar, clapboard, black walnut, and iron ore. To this list of "commodities," R. Rich, in his versified "Newes from Virginia," (*supra*, p. 132) added furs, sturgeon, caviar, dealboards, some pearl, wainscot, and sassafras.

Besides an official report on the "Estate of the Colonie in Virginia," Gates bore letters from Sir George Somers and Lord Delaware addressed to the Earl of Salisbury; and, from the angle of English literature, the particularly important letter from Secretary Strachey with its vivid description of the Great Tempest.

* Strachey, *Historie*, p. 56. Strachey cited the case of George Cawson, who was similarly "enticed up from the barge into their howses, at a place called Appocant," *ibid.*, p. 52.

† Governor Delaware went from Jamestown to the Falls, but was not relieved, so that he returned to Jamestown, where, as Percy related, "his sickness nothing abated but rather increased." Delaware also suffered from gout and scurvy. While his Lordship was at the Falls, the Indians had killed his brother, Captain William West.

It was not long until Delaware was forced by ill health to leave the colony. In a vessel commanded by Captain Argall he set sail for the West Indies and the hot baths at the island of Nevis. However, he was blown off his course; and, having recovered somewhat at sea, continued to England.

REPORT OF THE COMPANY

What the Virginia-London Company called the "True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia" summed up the circumstances which prevented another Roanoke Island or a second Sagadahoc as follows:

Never had any people more just cause to cast themselves at the footstool of God, and to reverence his mercy, than our distressed colony: for if God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas, within four days, they had all been famished: if God had not directed the heart of that worthy knight, to save the fort from fire at their shipping, they had been destitute of a present harbor, and succor; if they had abandoned the fort any longer time, and had not so soon returned, questionless the Indians would have destroyed the fort. . . . If they had set sail sooner and had launched into the vast ocean, who could have promised, that they should have encountered the fleet of the Lord Delaware. . . . If the Lord Delaware had not brought with him a year's provision, what comfort could those souls have received.¹³

This report on the state of the colony and recapitulation of the aims of the Company as visualized by its chief supporters has been so generally neglected in historical publications that it may appear to be new-found material. Since it is too lengthy to reproduce in its entirety, an effort is made to condense its substance while presenting the original phraseology.

No whit discouraged by the ill success that had already attended efforts to "inhabit the land" in amity and to convert the Indians, the True Declaration specifically reiterated that the principal or "primary end" of the Virginia action "is to plant religion," which was associated with a "secondary and subalternate" aim "for the honor and profit of our nation." However impractical these ends may have been, the projectors set forth the argument for colonization as follows:

Whether it be not a determinated truth that the Gospel should be preached, to all the world, before the end of the world? If it must be preached (as heaven and earth must pass away, but God's word shall not pass away) then must it be preached one of these three ways: Either merely apostolically, without the help of man (without so much as a staff) or merely imperially, when a prince hath conquered their bodies, that the preachers may feed their soules; or mixtly, by discovery, and trade of merchants; where all temporal means are used for defense, and security, but none for offense, or cruelty.¹⁴

The purely apostolical plan is dismissed as impracticable, "except we had the gift of tongues . . . or the gift of miracles . . . which two being ceased, questionless the identical commission of the Apostles is expired." Furthermore, it was recalled that the Indians of Florida "did devour the preachers of the word,"¹⁵ without [their] speaking any word."

The second plan is likewise dismissed; *viz.*,

To preach the Gospel to a nation conquered, and to set their souls at liberty, when we have brought their bodies to slavery. It may be a matter sacred in the preachers, but I know not how justifiable in the rulers, who for their mere ambition, do set upon it the gloss of religion. Let the divines of Salamanca, discuss that question, how the possessor of the west Indies first destroyed, and then instructed.¹⁶

Therefore, argues the Declaration, the third plan is the right as well as the "lawful" one, which:

Belongs to us, who by way of merchandizing and trade, do buy of them the pearls of earth, and sell to them the pearls of heaven; which action, if it be unlawful, it must proceed from one of these three grounds, either because we come to them, or trade with them, or tarry and dwell and possess part of their country amongst them. . . . Finally, it is not unlawful, that we possess part of their land and dwell with them, and defend ourselves from them, partly because there is no other, moderate, and mixt course, to bring them to conversion, but by daily conversation, where they may see the life, and learn the language each of other.¹⁷

Several corollaries follow, with a particular reference to the original sale of land to the first settlers by the king of "Paspahgh," coupled, however, with the dubious claim, gathered by

report, that "Powhatan their chief king, received voluntarily a crown and a scepter, with a full acknowledgment of duty and submission."¹⁸ Touching upon the Spanish threat still holding forth upon the European continent, we read:

It was a fit emblem that painted death standing upon the shores of France, Germany, and Spain, and looking over into England: intimating unto us, that so long as we are lords of the narrow seas, death stands on the other shores, and only can look upon us: but if our wooden walls were ruinated, death would soon make a bridge to come over, and devour our Nation.

Despite the recent disasters on the sea as well as on land by disease and by the savages, the high determination of both adventurers and venturers is displayed in the following passage, which minimizes the "miseries" to emphasize the hope for progress in the form of rhetorical questions:

Let any man resolve: Why the Council of Virginia [in London] do now most earnestly continue their adventures [outlay]? What those that were eye witnesses of the former supposed miseries, do voluntarily return with joy and comfort? Why those noble and worthy personages, do offer to make the action good upon the hazard of their lives and fortunes? And why Sir Thomas Gates longeth and hasteneth to go thither again, and the Lord La-ware desireth so earnestly to stay there?

The references to those returning to Jamestown included, of course, the pioneers Archer, Ratcliffe, and Martin. These rhetorical queries were followed by the closing appeal and prophecy:

O all ye worthies, follow the ever-sounding trumpet of a blessed honour; let Religion be the first aim of your hopes . . . and other things shall be cast unto you.¹⁹

At the same time (1610) there came a voice from among the survivors of the Great Tempest. While weak in the matter of versification, it was strong in the will to win:

Let England knowe our willingnesse, for that our worke is good,
We hope to plant a Nation, where none before hath stood.²⁰

By the side of Newport, Gates, and Dale, the figure of the pioneer, Captain George Percy, the next most prominent person

of this interval, is somewhat diminished; nevertheless, it is to Percy's credit that, upon the deposing and departure of Captain Smith and prior to the arrival of Gates, he had been *elected* president of the Virginia Council (1609-1610) and that later he was *appointed* deputy governor and invested by Lord Delaware with "Authority as Absolute as himself"²¹ until the expected arrival of Sir Thomas Dale. These honors single him out as at least a person of importance, if not of outstanding merit.*

Of his stewardship *ad interim*, Percy tells us but little, but he must have been materially aided by the appearance of Captain Robert Adams in *The Blessing* with a fresh, though small "supply"; especially as Adams brought the promise, upon the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale, of "a greater supply," which proved true, for within two months, the latter arrived in Virginia bringing with him men, munitions, and "a great store of Armour."†

Previously there had been references to doublets, targets, and at least some armor, as illustrated by the incident of testing the power of the Indian's arrows (*supra*, p. 73 n.); but, as described by Percy, the first appearance of protective armor in mass engagement with the savages merits preserving (spelling modernized):

Sir Thomas Dale made preparation and went against the Nansemonds with a hundred men in armor, where he had divers encounters and skirmishes with the savages both by land and water, divers of his company being wounded. Amongst the rest, Captain Francis West was shot into the thigh and Captain Martin in the arm, Sir Thomas Dale himself narrowly escaping; for an arrow light[ed] just upon the edge or brim of his headpiece, the which, if it had fallen a thought lower, might have shot him into the brains and endangered his life. In these conflicts many Indians being also slain and wounded, and not being acquainted nor accustomed to encounter with men in armor, much

* As above indicated, Percy was a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of England (*supra*, p. 1 n.). There is a brief reference to him in the memoranda of his brother Henry, the ninth Earl of Northumberland. The notation concerned the cost of "apparel for Mr. George Percy" sent by Captain Newport. In modern terms and figures, the wardrobe cost nearly \$300.00. Since this was a considerable item, the Earl must have felt that if his young brother was to meet native Virginia "emperors" he should be attired as befitted his station in life. Cf. Brown, *Genesis*, I, 178.

† Captain Adams "made voyages to Virginia every year from 1609 to 1614." Later, like Newport, he served the East India Company. Cf. Sackville Papers, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII, 1922, p. 496.

wondered thereat, especially that they did not see any of our men fall as they had done in other conflicts.²²

On his return to England, Lord Delaware passed en route the newly appointed deputy governor, Sir Thomas Dale. The latter had sailed in March, 1611, in the *Star*, accompanied by the *Prosperous*, and the *Elizabeth*, with Admiral Newport in command. At no little effort and outlay on the part of the London-Virginia Company, these outgoing vessels were taking to the colony some three hundred persons. With wild pigeons so numerous in Virginia that they often darkened the sky, the English brought some of their own, with rabbits and poultry, horses, cattle and goats. For some unknown reason Dale sailed by way of the West Indies, and consequently did not arrive in Virginia until May.

To aid the Reverend Richard Buck in establishing new parishes Dale was accompanied by two Anglican ministers. There were laboring men of all sorts, among them carpenters, smiths, coopers, fishermen, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, brickmen, gardeners, husbandmen, many of whom, provided they withstood the usual seasoning, would turn also to planting when once they found a profitable export crop.

Before proceeding up the river to Jamestown, Sir Thomas, with characteristic energy, made preparations to restore forts Henry and Charles. He also ordered the planting of corn and the building of cottages, putting Captain James Davis in charge. Arriving at Jamestown on Sunday afternoon, May 29, he, like Lord Delaware before him—less the elaborate ceremonial—repaired to the church. The Reverend Mr. Poole preached a sermon, after which Secretary Strachey read Dale's commission as High Marshal and Acting Governor of Virginia.*

Apparently, Dale accepted the personnel of the old Council, or their survivors, including Captain Percy, and active work was

* The order of the London-Virginia Council that the capital "seat" of the colony be established well up the river as a protection against Spanish surprise was well meant, but many of the colonists evidently preferred the healthfulness and plenty at Point Comfort. This was shown on several occasions, but never more so than in Percy's "Relacyon"; for when Algernon fort "accidentally burned downe to the grownd," Captain Davis "feareing to receve some displeasure and to be Removed from thense, the same beinge the most plentifulleste place for good, he used such expeditiyn in the Rebuyldinge of the same ageine thatt it is allmoste incredible."—*Ibid.*, p. 280.

ordered in the construction of an improved storehouse or "magazine," a powder house, a special blockhouse to guard the cattle from the Indians, and a wharf or "bridge" for unloading English goods and loading Virginia commodities.*

Most important and significant of all, provision was made for private plots for individual settlers or family groups, which step, as previously stated, marked the beginning of the end of the common-store system. Lastly, it should be recorded that Newport caused his mariners to aid the landsmen in useful endeavor; and it was his "gang" that undertook to build the "bridge." Except for service upon a commission to examine Spanish prisoners (*infra*, p. 182) this was his last work in Virginia. From being the principal stay and support of the colony, he was now about to begin a career in the East Indies which has led a student of both actions to observe that, "If Newport's voyage in the *Sarah Constant* in 1607 may be said to have laid the foundations of the United States, then his voyage with Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 may be said to have laid the foundations of British India."†

Once more the matter of establishing the provincial capital upon a more healthful spot was brought up and it was agreed that after corn planting time some upland site should be chosen for at least another settlement. A month later, therefore, Dale was building, farther up the river, the town of Henrico, named after Prince Henry. As the royal patron of Virginia, the then heir apparent had already expressed the hope, in case of war with Spain, that he would receive a command in any British fleet sent to the West Indies for the protection of the Virginia colony.‡

* Some writers have interpreted "bridge" to mean a bridge across the James River.

† Boies Penrose, "Some Jacobean Links between America and the Orient," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (October, 1940), Vol. XLVIII, p. 298. In 1592 Newport had effected one of the most famous captures in Elizabethan history when, as captain of the *Golden Dragon* and her three consorts, he brought back to England the great treasure ship *Madre de Dios*. It was on this voyage that he captured or destroyed a score of Spanish ships besides attacking towns in Florida, Cuba, Honduras, and Hispaniola.

‡ His death in 1612, now known to have been caused by typhoid fever, was regarded then as happening under suspicious circumstances due to eating allegedly poisoned grapes after playing tennis, a sport which engaged the leisure moments of another patron of Virginia, the Earl of Southampton, who, on one occasion, so hotly disputed "at tennis" with the Earl of Montgomery that their "rackets flew about their ears," and

Since we have at last a source account of the difficulties and dangers attending the building of Henrico, we may best quote the "Relacyon" concerning it, especially as we are thereby first introduced to an Indian character who advertised himself among the savages as invulnerable to English firearms. As Percy tells the story, part of the expedition planning a site at the Falls went by land under Captain Edward Brewster while the rest went by water. En route, Brewster "was divers times assaulted and encountered by the savages being sent from Powhatan, having for their leader one Munettute [Nenemachanew], commonly called amongst us Jack of the feather, by reason that he used to come into the field all covered over with feathers and swans' wings fastened unto his shoulders as though he meant to fly." In the meantime, the "savages were not idle," continually shooting arrows into the stockade and wounding many, while those who went without the palisades were often ambushed and slain.

Since the firearms of that period were not only clumsy but required much preparation in reloading, the Indians soon learned to take advantage of the latter fact. The strategy of the savages was thus described by a contemporary writer:

It hath been often seen in this Land, that whilst an Englishman hath beene winning his game, an Indian hath dogd him, attending his opportunitie by the others discharge to fill him full of Arrowes. . . . Whilst I was a writing these lines, newes was brought me of the killing of one, and the carrying away prisoner of another of my neighbors, by the Indians; one was an old Virginian . . . if wee goe out in the morning, wee know not whether wee shall ever returne; working with our Hoe in one hand, and our Peece or Sword in the other.²³

In the first decade of colonization in Virginia we come upon an obsession which many freshly arrived Englishmen 'of the common sort' fell upon; *viz.*, the belief—whether cunningly conveyed by the Indians or not—that they would fare better with the

the quarrel had to be "compounded by the king." That the sport afforded a basis for gambling is shown by the following excerpt from a letter written by John Chamberlain, February 12, 1612, in which he noted that the "eldest son of the Bishop of Bristol," a youth of "nineteen or twenty" killed himself to avoid the disgrace of a flogging for losing his money at tennis.—*The Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1848), I, 161.

aborigines in the freedom of the wilderness. In this respect, Dale had the same trouble as his predecessors, but he proceeded to make such defections odious by medieval punishments, involving torture and death in order "to terrify the rest for attempting the like." If Dale erred on the side of "extreme and crewell" measures, as Percy described these penalties, it may be that others had been too lax, as, for example, that "good old gentleman," Admiral Somers, when he was in command at Bermuda.*

For the moment, however, local matters were overshadowed by colonial activities which might have provoked conflicts with two powerful European nations, so that the exposition of domestic policy under Dale and Gates, including the all-important introduction of the private profit motive in lieu of the communal system will receive subsequent attention (*infra*, p. 198).

THE COLONY DEFIES EUROPEAN POWERS

At this time an incident in Virginia waters fully justified Captain Percy's wisdom in building a fort at the mouth of the James. Accounts of this incident have been preserved in England and in Spain; and since Percy's long-lost "Relacyon" tallies in the main with the other records, the story may be given largely in his own words.

About the last of June a Spanish caravel came into the bay and landed three men near Algernon fort. These Captain Davis surprised, "the chieftest" being one Don Diego de Molina. Another was Marco Antonio Perez and "the third a pilot who went under the name and habit of a Spaniard, but was afterward found and discovered to be an Englishman," Francis Limbry. The men "pretended to seek for one of the King of Spain's ships loaded with

* The above phrase was used by Lord Delaware in describing the Admiral. It brings to mind a kindly soul, inspired by "love and zeal" to forsake "his ease" and venture overseas to visit Virginia. "Old" he was at sixty-odd only by comparison with Rolfe and the great majority of the emigrants. His age was doubtless enhanced by a gray-brown beard that belied the vigor of the man who took his turn at the pumps of the stricken *Sea Venture*. As reported, he died of a "surfeit of a pig" on his second visit to the Bermudas, which, wrote a correspondent to Sir Dudley Carleton, "changed their name twice within this month [February, 1612, N. S.] being first christened Virginiola as a member of that plantation [Virginia] but now lately resolved to be called the Summer Islands, as well in respect of the continued temperate air, as in remembrance of Sir George Summers."—*Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1848), I, 160-161.

munitions bound for the West Indies." Captain Davis, at their request, let them have a pilot to bring their ship into the harbor. With the requested pilot on board, who happened to be John Clark, future pilot of the *Mayflower*, the Spaniards "hoisted up their sails . . . leaving the three which were surprised in his stead behind them, who were brought to Jamestown and sent as prisoners aboard several ships." *

The Molina expedition was in the nature of a follow-up of one led by Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, who had sailed from St. Augustine in 1608 under orders from Philip III to discover the progress of the English in Virginia and to make notes that would be useful in case his Majesty decided to expel them from the North American continent. Ecija was not only to report on all likely places where Spanish garrisons might be established, but he was authorized to attack any English vessels he should meet. It so happened, however, that Captain Samuel Argall had arrived off the capes almost simultaneously with Ecija. The latter, having heard from the savages in the Roanoke Island region exaggerated tales of English numbers within the Bay, showed no desire to attack Argall's small ship, which was, however, reported by them to be "long and high." In short, the Spanish officers, after due conference, came to the conclusion that "God our Lord and His Majesty, the King, would best be served by our going back" to St. Augustine.²⁴

The seizure of Molina was a matter fraught with threats of war between England and Spain; and before Molina was released five years later, his status was discussed in the correspondence of James I and Philip III, and of their respective ambassadors, and by their official households, in a prolonged exchange of messages. Philip III evidently heard the news of Molina's seizure simultaneously with his ambassador in London, Don Alonzo de Velasco, since they addressed letters to each other on this subject the same day. The Spanish monarch stated, for public consumption, that the Spaniards had landed innocently ("in good faith") on the

* The Spanish account of the affair asserted that when the master of the Spanish ship threatened to fire upon the English, unless Molina was at once returned, Captain Davis "replied from the shore with great anger, that they might go to the Devil."—*Cf.* Brown, *Genesis*, I, 517.

coast where "certain Englishmen took them, who say that by order of the King of Great Britain they have set foot in the part of that coast which they call Virginia." Philip ordered his ambassador to demand their immediate release, saying nothing about the capture of John Clark, who, incidentally, was reported to be held incommunicado.²⁵ In code, Philip gave orders to Velasco to misrepresent the rank and importance of Molino and to employ "all your skill and dexterity to prevent that King [James] from finding out the purpose for which those three men went there." *

Salisbury replied that the Spaniards would be given up upon the release of pilot Clark, but on November 27 Chamberlain wrote Carleton that Velasco had secretly visited James I, "which is thought somewhat a strange course."²⁶ The Council, evidently taking umbrage at this slight, seized the occasion to send for Velasco, who was "roundly" told of many wrongs the English had suffered at the hands of Spain and, in the name of the king, threats were made to recall the English ambassador. Furthermore, it was given out that the "Earl of Southampton's journey into Spain is laid aside"; and that the matter of condoling for the late Queen of Spain was "left to the ambassador resident there." Over a year later, on February 13, 1613, Philip again wrote Velasco about Don Diego de Molina, saying that Clark was held in Spain.†

Were the Company records of this period available, we should assuredly have more light thrown upon the delay in surrendering Molina. The Earl of Salisbury was not only principal secretary of state to James I but also a member of the Company; and he was

* *Ibid.*, II, 526. For some time the Spanish king and his ministers pretended that Molina was merely a plain mariner, but the English must have known better almost from the start, and this effort at deception may have added zest to the efforts to hold him, as surety not only for Clark and Virginia, but also for other Englishmen held in Spain.

† Clark might well have turned his attention to other fields; but the call of the colony prevailed, and so we find a notation of the London Company dated February 13, 1622, that after his "four years" of captivity, Clark had "donn the Companie good service in many voyages to Virginia and of late went into Ireland for transportation of cattle to Virginia." Consequently, a resolution was approved that he be made a member and be given two shares of land.—*Records*, I, 599. In the meantime, he had, as pilot of the *Mayflower*, guided the "Pilgrim Fathers" to the New World. For special data on Clark, see accounts taken from the Spanish archives at Simancas by Irene A. Wright in *American Historical Review*, XXV, No. 3, April, 1920.

repeatedly receiving dispatches from Sir Thomas Edmonds, ambassador to France, conveying reports which indicated that Philip III was preparing an expedition "for the removing of our plantation in Virginia." On July 20, Captain Robert Adams arrived in England bringing with him valuable ambergris found at Bermuda together with a shipment of Rolfe's Virginia-grown "sweet-scented" tobacco. Unwittingly, Adams brought two letters from Molina, presumably addressed to Velasco but really written to Philip III.

These letters furnish excellent illustrations of the current enmity between Spain and Britain; and there are the usual contradictions or paradoxes found in any description of Jamestown. In one passage it appears the colony was on the verge of extinction and in another that Virginia and Bermuda represented twin threats to Spain's supremacy in the West Indies. Like the Spanish ambassadors, Molina calls upon Philip "to cut short the advance of a Hydra in its infancy, since the intention is the destruction of the whole Spanish West, by seas as well as on land."²⁷ The letter goes on to state that "The bearer is a gentleman from Venice very honorable, who, having fallen into certain grave errors, is now restored to his first religion" for which change Molina claimed credit. In a kind of postscript, Molina writes: "If you have the key to my cipher you can write to me in the same; but this letter goes between the soles of a shoe, where it is sewed in." Ambassador Gondomar, Velasco's successor, reported October 17, 1614, that the ship which was to bring back Molina had returned with more letters from him but without his person. In these later letters Molina drew a very dark picture of conditions in Virginia; but when he observed that the colonists were all ready to surrender on any mere promise of a Spanish fleet commander to take them back to England, he was drawing a long bow, possibly with the idea of inducing the Spanish monarch to send out an expedition for his release.

The final chapter of this controversy, which seemed to verge upon war with Spain, came with the departure of Sir Thomas Dale for England in the spring of 1616 bearing with him Mr. and Mrs. John Rolfe, *neé* Matoaka; alcaide Don Diego de Molina, for

delivery to Spain; and Francis Limbry, who was hanged on route by Dale.*

In the face of the Spanish menace, Marshal Dale had asked for a defending force of some two thousand soldiers, but there is no record that he received so much as a corporal's squad. Despite alarming reports from Europe of prospective attack, many Englishmen remained calmly skeptical; for example, John Moore, in writing from London to Sir Ralph Winwood at the Hague, had observed: "There are some fears among the weaker sort, of some foreign attempts on Virginia and Ireland, but the State doth not apprehend it, as appears by Lord Carew's cashiering one half of all the Irish forces. Neither is there care taken to supply Sir Thomas Dale with the 2000 men whom he demandeth."²⁸

By way of contrast with the attitude of the government, a special ship was sent out by the London Company to warn the colonists to be on their guard. In fact, the Virginia-London Council was having a difficult time. As the supporters and advertisers of the colony, they did all they could throughout England to spread optimistic reports of conditions in Virginia. At the same time, officials in what may be called the departments of state and foreign affairs labored to create the impression, particularly in Spain, that the colony was on the verge of extinction. That the latter propaganda was effective is shown particularly in the dispatches of Sir John Digby, who, from Madrid, August 15, 1613, reported his success in belittling the colony. "I knowe," he wrote, "they would have attempted the removing of the English from Ver-ginea, but that they are certeynly informed the Buisnes will fall of itself."²⁹

In England, Velasco had been succeeded by Count Gondomar, and the tune of the dispatches from London to Madrid underwent a radical change. Whereas the former in numerous letters over a number of years had urged Philip to drive out the English from

* Some years later Captain Percy vouchsafed an additional, but apparently unverifiable detail: "Don Diego stayed not long in England, but was sent home, where he was made General of six tall ships, in all likelihood, and as we were after certainly informed, set out of purpose to supplant us. But having been at sea about a month, a mutiny did grow amongst them, in so much that one of the Diego's company stabbed him to death. Whereupon their course was altered and their former determination ceased."—*Trewe Relacyon*, pp. 278-279.

America before they became too strong, Gondomar took the view, for a while, that an overseas attack would not be worth the trouble; since the savages, on the one hand, and the hardships of the wilderness on the other would of themselves effect the extermination of the colony. Referring to the great expense to which the Virginia-London Company had been put, Gondomar wrote to Philip under date of October 5, 1613, that the Company was "weary of spending so much money without any hope of profit" and that "they now think of carrying all the people that are there to Bermuda or to Ireland by the coming Spring."* Since this report of great spending without commensurate return came to Gondomar through Sir Thomas Smith, it may have represented the actual views, or plans, of Smith and the commercially minded group in the Virginia-London Company. Furthermore, Gondomar's concept of the situation at this time is the more interesting for the reason that he subsequently perceived the growing success of the colony under the Sandys-Southampton leadership, whereupon he actively worked to undermine a management which was promoting and developing Britain's colonial enterprise on political principles wholly abhorrent to Spanish autocracy.

FRENCH DRIVEN FROM VIRGINIA

As the Spanish ambassador was picturing the impending collapse of Jamestown, the French were protesting the far-reaching enterprise of the Virginians in overthrowing their settlements in the northern parts of the continent. In fact, a number of Frenchmen who had encroached on Virginia soil in what was to be known as New England, had already joined Molina as prisoners at Jamestown. Hence, the account of the international incident involving imperial Spain may well be associated with another concerning the affairs of the expanding power of France, destined in the following century to take the lead from her Iberian neighbor in European influence and prestige.

Virginia had seized the Spaniards by chance, but two expedi-

* Gondomar to Philip III, in Brown, *Genesis*, II, 661. The ambassador, it may be noted, was not yet Count Gondomar, but signed himself Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña.

tions were designedly sent out from Jamestown against French colonies in the north. In short, Captain Samuel Argall was dispatched by Governor Gates to bring the invaders to account. Setting out from Point Comfort in late June or early July, 1613, in the *Treasurer*, a ship bearing fourteen guns and threescore musketeers, Argall came upon a French settlement on Mount Desert Island considerably to the northeast of the abandoned site of the old Plymouth Company's colony at Sagadahoc. Argall engaged the French at sight, killing several and taking sundry prisoners. He placed Captain La Saussaye, commandant, with some fourteen or more, on board a small pinnace to sail for France. Since the pinnace was crowded to capacity, he conveyed to Jamestown two Jesuit priests—Fathers Pierre Biard and Jacques Quentin—Captain Flory, and eleven others. Two French ships, one of a hundred tons, were also seized. Gates, however, did not regard the work as finished; hence, after consultation with Argall and the Council, and regardless of the fact that the prisoners had produced a commission given them to settle there by the King of France, he dispatched Argall on a second expedition to destroy any other French settlements that might be found below the forty-fifth parallel. Consequently, in October, 1613, Argall again set out. Sailing in the *Treasurer* and the captured French vessels, he took with him Captain Flory and the Jesuits. At Mount Desert they destroyed French buildings, cut down the French cross, and replaced it with another bearing the name of James I. Salt and other stores were seized at St. Croix; and, in November, Port Royal was likewise destroyed.*

On the way back Argall encountered a violent storm and did not reach Jamestown until early in December. The smaller French ship was lost at sea; but the larger one, in charge of Captain William Turner, set out for England bearing Fathers Biard and Quentin. The former's account of the combat in which he was captured is, in part, as follows:

As it is usual when vessels approach each other, to summon them to say who they are, our people cried out sailor-fashion O! O! But the English did not reply in the same manner, but far more furiously,

* Port Royal—later Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

with loud discharges of muskets and guns. They had 14 pieces of artillery and 60 musketeers, trained to serve on board ship, who came and charged on deck, on the bowsprit and wherever it was necessary, quite as well as soldiers do on land.

The first fire of the English was terrible; the whole vessel was on fire and full of smoke. From our side came a cool reply; the artillery was silent. Captain Flory cried in vain: Fire! Fire the gun! the gunner was not there. But Gilbert du Thet, who in his whole life had never felt fear nor shown himself a coward, when he heard the order and saw that nobody obeyed, took the match and caused us to speak as loud as the enemy; the misfortune was, that he did not take aim, and if he had done so, perhaps something worse might have happened, than the mere noise.³⁰

CAPTURE OF POCAHONTAS

In between the incidents of international note which made Jamestown a focus for Spanish wrath and French expostulations, the ever-active Argall succeeded in effecting another capture. The proceeding was evidently undertaken upon Argall's initiative, and Secretary Hamor begins his narrative thereof with the visit of Pocahontas at the seat of the werowance Japazeus,* where it so happened that Captain Argall arrived "upon occasion either of promise or profit."

Upon learning of the presence of Pocahontas, Argall perceived that if he should secure Powhatan's daughter, the English would have a valuable hostage. He immediately "delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his," meaning Japazeus, "how and by what meanes he might procure hir captive." He made overtures to the werowance to the effect that if he would help secure her person through some stratagem she would become surety for the exchange of a number of Englishmen and arms in possession of Powhatan. Particularly did he promise to entertain Pocahontas with kindness. Japazeus assented to be a party to the capture, in which he made "his wife an instrument, which sex," wrote Hamor in an observation by no means novel, "have ever bin most powerfull in beguiling inticements." In the presence of Pocahontas, the wife of Japazeus expressed a strong desire to see

* Also spelled Japasaws and Jopassus.

Argall's great ship. Japazeus feigned anger at her request, "especially being without the company of women, which denial she taking unkindely, must faine to weepe (as who know not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband seeming to pittie those counterfeite teares, gave her leave to goe aboard," provided that Pocahontas would accompany her. "So forthwith aboard they went, the best cheere that could be made was seasonably provided, to supper they went, merry on all hands, especially Japazeus and his wife, who to expres their joy, would ere be treading upon Capt. Argals foot, as who should say tis done, she is your own." ³¹

When Pocahontas sought to leave, she was detained and told that she would be well and honorably treated until she was exchanged for a number of Englishmen held by Powhatan, together with arms and other material. In return Japazeus was secretly rewarded with "a small Copper kettle, and som other les valuable toies so highly by him esteemed, that doubtlesse he would have betrayed his owne father for them."

On arriving at Jamestown, a messenger was dispatched to Powhatan to inform him that his daughter was in the "possession of the English, ther to be kept til such time as he would ransom her with our men, swords, peeces, and other tools treacherously taken from us." Apparently, Powhatan did not lay such store by his daughter as the English thought, in view of the fact that they heard "nothing of him till three moneths after," when "by perswasions of others he returned us seaven of our men" with promise to deliver more upon the return of his daughter. Thereupon Marshal Dale sent him answer that his daughter "was very well, and kindly intreated, and so should be howsoever he dealt with us: but we could not beleewe that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or stolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all, we would not by any meanes deliver his daughter, and then it should be at his choice, whether he would establish peace, or continue enemies with us." ³²

Powhatan remained unmoved, so "Sir Thomas Dale with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went up into his owne River," where the Indians threatened the English with total destruction. The savages referred significantly to the disaster brought

upon Captain Ratcliffe and his men, but Dale, instead of being intimidated, replied that the very reminder of this treacherous attack caused him the more seriously to consider the destruction of Powhatan's seat and all the crops, canoes, and fishing weirs.

When the "narrows of the river" had been reached, the Indians attacked, only to have the English land, kill some of their number, and burn "forty houses." Finally, after a long conference by which the Indians gained time to carry away their provisions, the English announced that at the end of a stated period war would be declared by the playing of "our Drum and Trumpets." Thereupon "two of Powhatans sonnes, being very desirous to see their sister, who was there present ashore with us, came unto us, at the sight of whom, and her well fare, whom they suspected to be worse intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much rejoiced, and promised that they would undoubtedly perswade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace forever with us, and upon this resolution the two brothers with us retired aboarde, we having first dispatched two English men, maister John Rolfe and maister Sparkes to acquaint their father with the businesse in hand." ³³

No decision was reached, however, since the Englishmen were not permitted to see Powhatan. Declaring that they must hurry home to do the spring planting, "the time of the yeere being then Aprill," Dale gave Powhatan until harvest to render his answer, which if not made by then they would return bent on war. The selection of one of the two English emissaries bore particular significance for:

Long before this time a gentleman of approved behaviour and honest cariage, maister John Rolfe had bin in love with Pocahuntas and she with him, which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, my selfe made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his advise and furtherance in his love, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and Pocahuntas her selfe.

When the report of the proposed marriage came to Powhatan's knowledge, the plan proved:

A thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent thereunto, who some ten daies after sent an uncle of hers, named Opachisco, to give her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his sonnes to see the marriage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and ever since we have had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with Powhatan himselfe, but also with his subjects round about us.³⁴

It was indicative of the religious sentiment prevailing in the colony that Rolfe felt it incumbent upon him to offer Marshal Dale a full confession of his proposed marriage with a woman of a heathen people, the whole of which is published by Hamor with the following prefatory observation:

And least [lest] any man should conceive that some sinister respects allured him hereunto, I have made bold, contrary to his knowledge, in the end of my treatise to insert the true coppie of his letter, written to Sir Thomas Dale, to acquaint him with his proceedings and purpose therein.³⁵

Rolfe's declaration of his intention in this matter is an epistle of some two thousand words, part of which may well be quoted to illustrate the sentiment to which reference has been made, especially in connection with a letter of the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, in which, after a reference to the peace made with the Indians, he added: "But that which is best, one Pocahontas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discreete English Gentleman, Maister Rolfe; and that after she had openly renounced her countrey Idolatry, confessed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptised; which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured a long time to ground in her."³⁶

Eliminating here the lengthy justification of his course by the citing of Scriptural precedents, we may quote Rolfe's main argument as follows:

Let therefore this my well advised protestation, which here I make betweene God and my own conscience, be a sufficient witnesse . . . if my chieftest intent purpose be not to strive with all my power of body and minde, in the undertaking of so mightie a matter, no way led (so farre forth as mans weaknesse may permit) with the unbridled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the

honour of our countrie, for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbeleeving creature, namely Pokahuntas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and have a long time bin so intangled, and intrhalled in so intricate a laborinth, that I was even awearded to unwinde my selfe thereout. But almighty God, who never faileth his, that truely invocate his holy name hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainely see and discern the safe paths wherein to treade.³⁷

After reciting "the heavie displeasure which almightie God conceived against the sonnes of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives," he begs consideration for the sentiments expressed by Matoaka herself as:

Likewise, adding hereunto her great apparance of love to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of understanding, her aptnesse and willingnesse to receive anie good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me up hereunto.

What should I doe? shall I be of so untoward a disposition, as to refuse to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be so unnaturall, as not to give bread to the hungrie? or uncharitable, as not to cover the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious dueties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world, over power and with holde mee from revealing unto man these spirituall workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and praiers, I have daily made knowne unto him? God for bid, I assuredly trust hee hath thus dealt with me for my eternall felicitie, and for his glorie.³⁸

We could well have spared other portions of Rolfe's letter in exchange for details about the extraordinary wedding ceremony of the young English planter and the daughter of the Indian "Emperor." Regardless of varying opinions of the match at Jamestown, she was soon to be looked upon at the Court of James I as a princess who had condescended to marry a country squire. The wedding took place in the Jamestown church and was solemnized in April, 1614, according to the Anglican ritual. Apparently, the Reverend Richard Buck conducted the ceremony, but the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, who had helped to instruct her in the Christian faith, must have been present as the bride plighted her troth under her baptismal name of Rebecca, a change that has

been long ignored, along with Matoaka, by which name she was known among her people. As above stated, her uncle, Opachisco, was present and two of her brothers. As prisoner of state, Don Diego de Molina may likewise have been a guest at the wedding ceremony, as also the French prisoners of state captured by Argall on the northern coast.*

Although there is every evidence of a love match rather than a marriage of state policy, Secretary Hamor, either through skepticism, or for its effect in England, observed in connection with a eulogy of the services rendered by Rolfe: "Witnes his mariage with Powhatan's daughter . . . for the good and honour of the Plantation."

TREATY WITH THE CHICKAHOMINIES

After peace had been concluded with Powhatan, the area of peaceful relations with the savages was extended by a treaty with the Chickahominies. As Hamor described them, these Indians were "a lustie and daring people, who have long time lived free from Powhatan's subjections." When, however, they heard of the peace concluded between Powhatan and the English, they became alarmed lest by a union of forces they would be overwhelmed. Consequently, they sent a deputation to Jamestown bearing presents to Sir Thomas Dale; and while confessing they had been enemies, they now wished not only to be friends, "but even King James' subjects," further offering to give up their own name and be known as Englishmen—in their own tongue "Tassantasses." Since they had then no "principal werowance" over them, they asked Sir Thomas Dale to assume that role in the name of King James, and "in all just causes and quarrels to defend them," as they, in turn, would aid the English. To this they added a request not unlike the attitude of the American colonies respecting Parliamentary interference in the following century, in that they were, in English phraseology, to "enjoy their owne lawes and lib-

* *Discourse, op. cit.*, p. 214. With respect to the first women in the colony little information has been preserved. In modern slang, Pocahontas "stole the show." It may here be noted, however, that if the wife of Sir Thomas Gates had not died en route, Lady Gates might have established a kind of colonial court as early as 1611. After her death, Sir Thomas' daughters returned to England.

erties," especially as Dale would necessarily be occupied with affairs at Jamestown, for whom, in his absence, they would choose of their number eight councillors. Dale gave a favorable answer and, after appointing a day for a conference, offered the Indians copper in return for their gifts, which the Indians refused, thereby indicating that what they brought were goodwill offerings not to be confused with commercial trading.

On the appointed day Dale and Argall set out for the Chickahominy town with "50 men in a barge and frigot, well appointed, least any trecherie might be intended." The negotiations were brought to a conclusion on the basis of the following unique agreement, or treaty, which is:

First, that they should take upon them, as they promised, the name of Tassantasses or English men, and be King James his subjects and be forever honest, faithfull and trustie unto his deputie in their countrie.

Secondly, that they should never kill any of our men or cattell, but if either our men or cattle should offend them or runne to them, they should bring them home again and should receive satisfaction for the trespasse done them.

Thirdly, they should at all times be ready and willing to furnish us with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide us *against the Spaniards*, whose name is odious amongst them, for Powhatans father was driven by them from the west-Indies into those parts, or against any other Indians which should, contrary to the established peace, offer us any injurie.

Fourthly, they shall not upon any occasion whatsoever breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forth by any other waies, issues or ports then ordinary, but first call, and say the Tossantessas are there, and so comming they shall at all times be let in, and kindly entertained.

Fifthly, so many fighting men as they have which may be at the least five hundred should yeerely bring into our store house, at the beginning of their harvest two bushels of corne a man, as tribute of their obedience to his Majestie, and to his deputy there, for which they should receive so many Iron Tomahawkes or small hatchets.

Lastly, the eight chiefe men which governe as substitutes and Councillors under Sir Thomas Dale, shall at all times see these Articles and conditions duly performed for which they shall receive a red coat, or

livery from our King yeerely, and each of them the picture of his Majesty, ingraven in Copper, with a chaine of Copper to hang it about his necke, whereby they shall be knowne to be King James his noble Men.³⁹

The agreement appears to have met the unanimous approval of the Chickahominies, for:

After these Articles were thus proposed, the whole assembly assenting thereunto, answered with a great shout, and noise, that they would readily and willingly performe them all: and immediately began the chiefe of the eight to make an oration to the rest, bending his speech first to the old men, then to the yong men, and in conclusion to the women and children, giving them thereby to understand the summe of the proposed conditions: and how strictly they were to observe them: in consideration whereof, he further declared what wee have promised to doe for them not onely to defend and keepe them from the fury & danger of Powhatan, which thing they most feared, but even from all other enemies, domesticke, or forraigne, and that we would yeerely by trade furnish them with Copper, Beades, Hatchets, and many other necessaries, yea, which liked them best, that we would permit them to enjoy their owne liberties, freedoms, and lawes, and to be governed as formerly, by eight of their chiefeest men.⁴⁰

RETURN OF GOVERNOR GATES

Shortly after the seizure of Molina, the colonists had been startled by the appearance of a fleet of six sail coming into the Bay. Naturally, they were thought to be Spanish ships, following the lead of Molina. A conference of war was held as to whether the enemy should be fought on land or water. Captain Percy argued successfully for the latter course, since, on land, should the battle go adversely, the faint-hearted might flee, whereas on board the ships they would have no recourse but a fight to a finish.⁴¹ Consequently, the entire company was ordered on board the *Deliverance*, together with the *Star* and the *Prosperous*. A shallop with thirty men, sent out to reconnoitre, returned with the glad news that it was Sir Thomas Gates coming in with three "caravels" of cattale and three ships bearing two hundred and eighty men and twenty women, including his daughters.

SECRETARY HAMOR VISITS POWHATAN

Before his departure for England, Ralph Hamor conceived the idea of visiting "Powhatan and his Court." Securing Dale's permission, he set out with an "English boy" for his interpreter and two Indian guides. This was Thomas Savage, who had lived three years with Powhatan. The old werowance was difficult at best, but Hamor purposed seeing "if by any meanes I might procure a daughter of his who (Pocahuntas being already in our possession) is generally reported to be his delight, and darling . . . for surer pledge of peace."

Arriving on the York river opposite Powhatan's seat, the guides sent for a canoe in which they were taken across, Powhatan himself being at the landing to greet Thomas Savage, for whom he seemed to have entertained no little liking. Him, however, he now chided for not returning from Pasphegh * after he had received leave to go there to see his friends. He claimed Thomas as his own child by the gift of Captain Newport, in place of Namontack, of whom, Hamor related, he had heard no word as to how the English "have delt with him," (*supra*, p. 107). The next move of his Majesty was, Hamor admitted, rather alarming, as if Powhatan were preparing to cut his throat, in that without words or other salutation, he "feeled round about it." As the colonial secretary recorded it, he:

Asked me where the chaine of pearle was. I demaunded what chaine: that, said he, which I sent my Brother Sir Thomas Dale for a present, at his first arrivall; which chaine, since the peace concluded, he sent me word, if he sent any Englishman upon occasion of busines to me, he should weare about his necke, otherwise I had order from him to binde him and send him home againe.⁴²

Dale had agreed to use the chain as a passport for any person he sent to Powhatan, but Hamor hastened to explain that Dale's "page" had forgotten the Governor's order to give it to him. When, upon inquiry of Powhatan as to the welfare of Pocahontas,

* The original Indian nomenclature for the general neighborhood of Jamestown.

Hamor replied that she was "so well content that she would not change her life to returne and live with him," Powhatan "laughed heartily, and said he was very glad of it."

Thereupon we have a detailed account of Secretary Hamor's strange request, allegedly on behalf of Sir Thomas Dale, for Powhatan's youngest daughter in marriage, albeit Dale's wife was living in England. If this fact were known to Powhatan, the suggestion of polygamy would not have mattered to the old werowance, since he at the moment had "two queens" beside him. He replied, however, that he thought it was a presumption for the English to wish to ask him for his youngest and dearest daughter, who, if taken to the English, he would never see again, in that he had vowed he would never visit the English or put himself in their power. Although Powhatan declared he had just given ("sould") this daughter to be the "wife of a great werowance for two bushels of roanoke," Hamor had the further presumption, whether he believed the story or not, to ask that the transaction be cancelled.*

After Powhatan's indignation had subsided, Hamor was well entertained with food. "When we had eaten, he caused to be fetched a great glasse of sacke, some three quarts or better, which Captain Newport had given him sixe or seaven yeeres since, carefully preserved by him, not much above a pint in all this time spent, and gave each of us in a great oyster shell some three spoonfuls."⁴³ Since it seems that Powhatan did not partake, he may have the distinction of being the pioneer Virginia abstainer. On the other hand, he did not demand abstinence in others. Possibly his planned economy in the potations offered indicated either parsimony on the part of the host or a lesson in temperance for his English guest.

The word most commonly used by Englishmen in describing Powhatan was "subtile." Subtle indeed he was, as the evidence amply shows, but with all his subtlety, he evinced a confused sense of comparative values, and much indecision about coming

* "A cubites length" of these strung "beads" or shells was, according to Hamor, valued at "sixe pence." Since Hamor was then planning to return to England, he may have himself entertained ideas of accompanying Rolfe with another Virginia "princess."

to grips with any given problem. When Hamor was about to depart, the werowance asked that the following articles be sent him: "Ten peeces of Copper, a shaving knife, an iron frow to cleave bordes, a grinding stone, not so bigge but four or five men may carry it, which would be bigge enough for his use, two bone combes, such as Captaine Newport had given him; the wodden ones his own men can make: an hundred fish-hookes, or if he could spare it, rather a fishing saine, and a cat, and a dogge"—in return for promised skins.

When he had finished, Hamor wrote, "He asked me if I well remembered every particular." Hamor repeated them, but Powhatan was still "doubtful," possibly because he had been promised articles by Smith which had not been delivered; so, says Hamor, "He bade me write them downe in such a Table book as he shewed me, which was a very fair one. I desired him, it being of no use to him, to give it mee." Powhatan, however, demurred on the ground that "it did him much good to shew it to strangers; so Hamor "wrot downe each particular" in his own notebook.

Above these interesting details of his personal dealings with the natives, there are items of greater historical importance in Hamor's much neglected *Discourse*, especially with respect to Marshal Dale's character and administration; and about the beginnings of a socio-economic revolution in the management of the colony.

PRIVATE PROPERTY *vs.* COMMUNAL PLAN

Hamor summarized the results accruing from the new conditions established by Dale as follows (orthography modernized):

True it is, that every day by the providence and blessing of God, and their own industry, they have more plenty than other. The reason hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fed out of the common store and laboured jointly in the manuring [tilling] of the ground, and planting corn, glad was that man that could slip from his labour, nay the most honest of them in a general business would not take so much faithful and true pains in a week, as now he will do in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them, by which means we

reaped not so much corn from the labours of 30 men, as three men have done for themselves.*

Hamor thereupon explains the "new course" whereby "throughout the whole colony" each man was allotted clear ground of his own to till and tend. The change thus instituted marked the beginnings of individual holdings, with the incentives to progress that accompany the expectations of profit. Instead of turning all products into a common hoard, each settler was to return a part of his crop, thus marking the beginning of taxes and the responsibilities of free enterprise.†

In view of the fact that the interpretation introduced by Smith, followed by many others, has blamed the Jamestown pioneers for lack of industry in their first years, it is well to compare Hamor's statement with that made by Governor William Bradford concerning the Plymouth colonists, who also tried the common store or communal system with an equal lack of success. Of this trial period Bradford wrote (orthography modernized):

So they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in misery. At length, after much debate of things, the Governor (with the advice of the chieftest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard trust to themselves. . . . And so [he] assigned to every family a parcel of land. . . . This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn, which before would alledge weakness, and inability; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

* Hamor, *Discourse*, p. 17. Hamor has usually been quoted from the version edited by Smith, and highly reputable writers have quoted Hamor's objections to the old order as coming from Captain Smith. Cf. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period* (New Haven, 1934), Vol. I, p. 123.

† Additional, though indirect, testimony as to the new sense of individual as well as group welfare may be found in *The New Life of Virginea* (London, 1612), Vol. I, Force, *Tracts*, p. 14, wherein is described the process of building the new town laid out by Dale: "Here they pitch; the spade men fell to digging, the brick men burnt their bricks, the company cut down the wood, the Carpenters fell to squaring out, the Sawyers to sawing, the Souldier[s] to fortifying, and every man to some what."

In short, the Bradford narrative summed up the result of the experiment in almost the same terms used by Hamor:

The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Platos and other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that the taking away of wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God.⁴⁴

DALE'S "LAWES AND ORDERS"

Marshal Dale was both martinet and puritan, and in the punishments prescribed for offenders, he was following literally a code under the title of "Articles, Lawes, and Orders, Divine, Politique, and Martiall for the Colony in Virginia." Reference has been made to Smith's story of the penalties he imposed for swearing. The latter's form of punishment represented a personal whim, but under the Dale regime swearing was to be penalized by whipping for the first offense; for the second, a bodkin thrust through the tongue; and death for the third. Attendance upon daily religious services was compulsory, else loss of rations, whipping, and six months in the galleys.*

Although Dale, Gates, and Delaware—soldiers all—inflicted cruel punishments upon those guilty of desertion, theft, disaffection, and so forth, nevertheless there is evidence to the effect that these regulations were not so strictly enforced. There were, for example, stringent rules requiring conformity to the Anglican creed or communion; yet under Dale there are open hints at a Virginia welcome to nonconformists; and, despite the avowed aim to exclude Roman Catholics as secret allies of Spain, those considered politically loyal were admitted; for the French Jesuit, Father Biard, related that he had been attended by an English surgeon of the Roman Catholic communion.

The Dale regulations, or "articles," are voluminous, covering some sixty-odd pages of small print. Some were drafted for Sir Thomas Gates in 1610, approved by Lord Delaware that year, and

* Although we find references to galleys and men rowing them, it appears that this ancient penalty was wholly inappropriate to New World conditions.

then extended by Marshal Dale in 1611. As in England, the death penalty was decreed for theft; also it was decreed in Virginia for assault upon "any woman, maid, Indian, or other." A remarkable provision called for penalties, from whipping to death, not only for "slander and unfitting speeches either against his Majestys Honourable Council for this Colony, resident in England, or against the Committees" and so forth, but also "against the zealous endeavors and intentions of the whole body of Adventurers for this pious and Christian Plantation, or against any public book, or books . . . published for the advancement of the good of this Colony." *

Health regulations were strict and in minute detail. The authorities drawing them up may have known something about drainage and of the dangers of seepage, for it was ordered that no "water or suds" from washing should be thrown out within "twenty foot of the old well, or new pump." The streets also were to be kept free from slops—a village regulation which, incidentally, might have provided a good example for the people of London at this time. In addition, there was a sanitary cordon extending to a quarter of a mile beyond the palisades. There were likewise "lawes" that each householder keep his house "sweet and clean," also the street in front, and that his bedstead be raised at least three feet. This last was one of the few regulations the violation of which did not provide a possible death penalty.⁴⁵

Against the record of Dale's severity, there should be shown a lighter side, which is seen in the tributes paid him by Secretary Hamor and the Reverend Alexander Whitaker. Whitaker freely admitted the harshness of the Dale regime, but referred to the deputy governor as "a man of great knowledge in Divinity, and of a good conscience in all his doings: both which bee rare in a martiall man.† Every Sabbath day wee preach in the forenoon, and Catechize in the afternoone. Every Saturday at night I exercise in Sir Thomas Dale's house."⁴⁶ In short, Sir Thomas seems to have been a thoroughgoing puritan within the Anglican church. This attitude is evident in his regulations respecting the observance

* Spelling modernized.

† By way of contrast, Captain Smith showed little or no interest in the religious purposes of the founders, particularly in the plans for the conversion of the Indians.

of the Sabbath, which "no man or woman should dare to violate or break" by "any gaming, publique or private abroad, or at home." We learn something of Dale from the following description he gives of the conversion of Matoaka (orthography modernized):

Powhatan's daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in [the] Christian religion, who after she had made some good progress therein, renounced publicly her country idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptised, and is since married to an English gentleman of good understanding, (as by his letter unto me, containing the reasons for his marriage of her you may perceive) another knot to bind this peace the stronger. Her father and friends gave approbation to it, and her uncle gave her to him in the Church: she lives civilly and lovingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodness, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her.⁴⁷

Since John Smith and William Strachey, as eye-witnesses, have passed out of this exposition, so now we may dismiss Ralph Hamor with a quotation from his dedicatory paragraphs "To the Reader" of his *True Discourse*, as representing the views of the first duly appointed secretary of the colony with respect to the aims and prospects of "a business so full of piety, as is this our Virginie Plantation," for the support of which Hamor made the following appeal to his fellow countrymen in England:

What is more excellent, more precious and more glorious, than to convert a heathen nation from worshipping the devil, to the saving knowledge, and true worship of God in Christ Jesus? what more praiseworthy and charitable, than to bring a savage people from barbarism unto civility? what more honourable unto our country, than to reduce a far disjoined foreign nation, under the due obedience of our dread Sovereign the King's Majestie? what more convenient than to have good seats abroad for our ever flowing multitudes of people at home? ⁴⁸

ADDENDA

A RUMOR OF WITCHES

A characteristic of the age is illustrated by an incident in Dale's journey of exploration to the site of Henrico city. The incident

bears upon the then prevalent belief in witches and is thus described in Alexander Whitaker's letter to William Crashaw. After referring to his previous letters (which are among the lost records) Whitaker supposed it would be "unsavoury" to the "heavenly meditations" of his reverend correspondent "to heare what corne we have sett, what boats we have built &c; but I will acquainte you with one thinge which may be worthy your consideration and wherein I desire to know your opinion:

. . . Powhatan . . . threatened to destroy us after strange manner. First, he said he would make us drunk and then kill us, and for a more solemnity gave us six or seven days' respite. Sir Thomas was very merry at this message and returned them with the like answer. Shortly after . . . he went armed to the Falls, where one night our men being at prayers in the course of guard a strange noise was heard coming out of the corn towards the trenches of our men like an Indian "*hup hup*" with an "*Oho Oho*." Some say that they saw one like an Indian leap over the fire and run into the corn with the same noise. At the which all our men were confusedly amazed. They could speak nothing but "*Oho Oho*," and all generally taking the wrong end of their arms. . . . But thanks to God, this alarm lasted not above half a quarter of an hour, and no harm was done excepting 2 or 3 that were knocked down without any further harm; for suddenly, as men awaked out of a dream, they began to search for their supposed enemies, but finding none, remained ever after very quiet."⁴⁹

After reciting other strange happenings, among them a "mad crewe" of dancing savages led by one of their priests in a rain dance, which appeared to have brought on a considerable local shower, the Reverend Mr. Whitaker tentatively, at least, drew the conclusion that "there be great witches amongst them, and they very familiar with the divill." *

* Captain Percy, then in charge of Jamestown, recorded the story of "incantations" by the quiyoughquisocks and crockonoës (priests and chief men), guardedly observing, with respect to resulting phenomena, that "the which may be supposed to have been occasioned by the savages' sorceries."

Chapter IX

ARGALL'S CURSE; ROLFE'S DISCOVERY

ALTHOUGH Lord Delaware's determination to carry on had saved the colony, only the earnest efforts of its most devoted supporters maintained its life line in Britain, where the "adventurers" were expending tens of thousands of pounds in equipment and supplies. Much had been advanced and it was evident much more would be needed for an enterprise eminently worthy of patriotic effort and earnest prayers, but which, from a material point of view, was an "excellent uncertainty."

Not even the romantic rescue of those on board the *Sea Venture* could offset the tale of disaster at Jamestown throughout the summer of 1609 and well into that of 1610. These were critical days for the Virginia-London Company, and here was presented the great test as to the character and purposes of the founders. It was clear that Virginia was not an East Indies, productive of tropical products and handsome dividends; consequently, commercially minded adventurers who had not paid their respective subscriptions sought excuses to evade their obligations. Others—and happily these were the most active and numerous in directing the affairs of the Company—were determined to make every sacrifice on behalf of the cause. But for the extraordinary zeal of these far-sighted idealists, Jamestown may well have been lost and with it the prospects of a haven for the English dissenters in the Netherlands.

PROBLEMS OF THE PROJECTORS

At this point we may turn to the writings of sundry observant Englishmen, who, in their private correspondence, discussed not only affairs of state but the personal and business relationships of the participants in events full of significance with respect to the

future of America. By way of illustration, on August 1, 1613, John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton:

When the business at Virginia was at the highest, in that heat many gentlemen and others were drawn by persuasion and importunity of friends to underwrite their names for adventurers: but when it came to the payment (specially the second or third time), their hands were not so ready to go to their purses as they were to the paper, and in the end flatly refused.¹

A number of these underwriters were sued by the Virginia-London Company and some were compelled to pay. Others were expelled from membership; and, in his usual gossipy style, the correspondent in question proceeded to mention sundry specific instances involving friends and acquaintances.

As a partial offset to the discouraging news from Jamestown, the discovery of the Bermudas served to renew public interest in the New World; but, of more immediate importance, the news led to an extension of the Charter of 1609, to include the islands in the Virginia patent in a new instrument known as the Charter of 1612. In this patent, the boundaries of Virginia were thus extended eastward some nine hundred miles, which extension was considered ample enough to embrace not only the Bermudas but such other islands as might yet be discovered in that region. Under the terms of the new charter the establishment of lotteries was permitted, while the Company officials acquired new powers of administration in the holding of the great Quarter Courts of the members, which became, in effect, legislative assemblies having political prerogatives such as those exercised by the Crown, Privy Council, or Parliament.*

In the meantime, the London Company turned to raising colonization funds through a lottery especially sanctioned by the king, and it is interesting to note that the choice of a manager fell upon the trustee of Shakespeare's theatre, William Leveson; and, as Professor Hotson observed: "If Leveson's books were preserved for

* These great or "Quarter Courts" were to be held in January, May, June, and November, or in the middle of each of the four seasons, avoiding, however, the mid-summer exodus out of London. It was not long before the islands were sub-patented, or sold, by the London Company to an independent corporation, though with what would now be called an interlocking directorate; and these, in time, were incorporated in a separate organization.

us, I think we should find Shakespeare down for a ticket or two."² Leveson held a number of the lottery books and took in over £2000 for tickets; and, when the Virginia Council voted to build a house for carrying on the business in St. Paul's Churchyard, Leveson was engaged to superintend its erection. In fact, it may be said that St. Paul's "middle aisle" preceded what was known a century later as the "Virginia Walk" of the Royal Exchange for the transaction of colonial business. From there it was easy to visit the offices of the lottery, which had become the talk of the city and much of the realm, as all classes of people, together with towns, churches, and guilds, were buying tickets.

The first drawings were made in July, 1612; and there was a great display made of the award of the first prize, which was won by William Sharpless, a tailor, to whom was delivered "in very stately manner" some "four thousand crowns in fair plate." There were many other prizes. These, with the handsomely furnished headquarters, may have cut too far into the returns, for the net results seem small in view of the effort involved.*

In contrast with the returns from these lotteries, the amount realized from voluntary subscriptions recorded in 1610-1611 was very considerable. These contributions had followed an appeal issued by the Company in the form of "A circular Letter of his Majesties Counsil for Virginia," which began and closed on the religious and nationalistic note as advancing "the glory of God, the honour of our English nation, and the profit and security, in our judgment, of the Kingdome." The list of contributors was a notable one. Of one hundred persons ranking as knights, about seventy-five had served or were serving as members of Parliament, besides a considerable number of merchants. The minimum sub-

* Cf. Chancery proceedings, *Records of the Virginia Company in London*, III, 49-57. The lottery method of raising money was, from time to time, employed until 1621, when James I put a stop to it, alleging public complaints of abuses that had arisen in that connection. These charges need not be taken at face value, since by this time the monarch had become definitely hostile to those in charge of the affairs of the Company and was preparing the way for its formal dissolution; on the other hand, there were popular complaints such as have been lodged against the operation of lotteries at any time, even though for the benefit of missions or building churches. All receipts were to be paid to Sir Thomas Smith at his home in Philpot Lane; and it may here be noted in June, 1621, "Att a great and general Quarter Courte helde for Virginia" the lottery accounts were ordered "made up" by the Company auditors; but the auditors were not able to get a satisfactory report. Cf. *infra*, p. 235.

scription of each was the modern equivalent of about one thousand dollars.³ In 1621, the Company stated that subscriptions made out of the members' "owne private estates" amounted, in modern values, to approximately three million dollars.⁴

VERSATILE JOHN ROLFE

Regardless of the lack of returns to the British *adventurers*, the period was now at hand when Virginia *venturers*, having come into possession of property in their own right, were deriving definite profits from their labors. In the colony the economic picture was undergoing a change. Under the order inaugurated by the patent of 1609, Gates, Delaware, and Dale had played important roles. These officials had been definitely appointed to carry on the enterprise, and of them much was expected; but it remained for an unheralded private individual to do more than they towards assuring the ultimate prosperity of the colony. In short, it was John Rolfe who became the medium through which a long period of peace was arranged with Powhatan; and, who, by virtue of his industry and ingenuity, became the discoverer-producer of a profitable export crop.

What Ralph Hamor wrote about the first steps taken to substitute private holdings for a common store has been noted. Almost in immediate juxtaposition to his comment thereon, this observant secretary reported the success attending Rolfe's "triall" of tobacco, the significance of which has not met the recognition it deserves. In fine, the palm for individual achievement in the early development of Virginia must be awarded to the settler whose foresight and insight pointed the way to economic success; so that Rolfe may be regarded as the first of a long line of American industrial-inventors. As such he is entitled to primary recognition in his own right, rather than vicariously in textbooks as the husband of Pocahontas. Certainly no American pioneer has received a sincerer tribute from a contemporary than did this private citizen, of whom Secretary Hamor wrote:

I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which first tooke the pains to make triall thereof, [the raising of tobacco] his name Mr. John Rolfe, Anno Domini 1612 . . . in whose

behalf I witnesse and vouchsafe to holde my testimony in beleefe, that during the time of his abode there, which draweth neere upon six yeeres, no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy incouragement into England by his letters than he hath done.⁵

The expression "tooke the pains to make triall thereof" meant more than merely raising a crop. From the time when Governor Lane brought some tobacco from Roanoke Island, it was generally recognized that the Virginia-grown leaf had a bitter taste; and, according to one authority, Sir Walter Raleigh was about the only one who smoked it.⁶ Consequently, that which was produced around Jamestown was unfavorably compared with Spanish tobacco from the West Indies. In 1611, barely a year after his arrival from the Bermudian wreck, Rolfe had the vision to experiment with seeds from Trinidad and Venezuela. These came to such perfection upon Virginia soil that the product shortly acquired the name "sweet-scented," and the demand for it was immediate. Rolfe should, therefore, be given long-due credit as the developer of the first American product to provide profitable employment for shippers, merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and laborers, besides affording a stimulant to transatlantic trade and commerce. Within a comparatively brief period, his discovery was bringing in such returns to the settlers that they changed from overrating colonial conditions to underrating them in order to keep the Crown officials from imposing too burdensome taxes upon their best-paying crop.

Rolfe's ability was contemporaneously recognized when he was appointed secretary of the colony, as the Virginia planter-successor to William Strachey and Ralph Hamor, both of whom had come from England to serve in that capacity. This substitution of a practical farmer of Virginia for the earlier penmen from the mother country was a tribute to Rolfe's versatility; and if we had sufficient evidence to link him with the idea of the change from the collectivist or common-store plan to the system of private ownership initiated under Dale, we could also hail him, with Gabriel Archer, as a pioneer in the individualistic political philosophy that became so distinctive a trait of the Anglo-American colonists. Certainly there is something highly significant in Rolfe's statement in 1616 that in Virginia "everie man" was at last "sitting under his fig tree

in safety, gathering and reaping the fruits" of his labors insofar as each had earned them.

In his "Relation" Rolfe shows that his flair for investigation and experiment was by no means satisfied with what had been accomplished with the product that was already affording the venturers in Virginia a factual confidence in the colony's future. That he hoped to do even better may be seen in his comment following a recital of colonial resources, in which he expressed the thought that Virginia tobacco, though "an esteemed weed" and "very commodious," should "after a little more trial and expense in the curing . . . compare with the best in the West Indies."⁷

In answer to the question asked by common report in England: "How is it possible Virginia can now be so plentifully stored with food" when a short time before men "pined with famine," Rolfe declared that the change in the form of government was in part responsible for the improvement—an observation that may not have been at all pleasing to his Majesty—since James or his immediate advisers had prescribed the original form, while the change was instituted by the Company. Innocently, Rolfe goes on to disclose that one early weakness was due to the fact that the colony was "governed by a president and councell, aristocratically," meaning group control, under which plan the governing members clashed one with another. "All," he declared, "would be *keisers*, none inferior to other."

That Rolfe was essentially a practical planter-industrialist is shown by the fact that when he described American fauna and flora, he did not stop with listing the numerous varieties of fish, flesh, fowl, and herbs, but told, for example, when and how fish were to be caught with the greatest measure of success; and it is to be hoped that his biggest fish story is true, which was to the effect that at one specially prepared haul five thousand three hundred fish as big as cod were caught and the main school not attempted for fear of breaking the net. On this occasion, Sir Thomas Dale was in charge of the fishermen; so if Rolfe were not an eyewitness tabulator, the tale might have grown in the telling.

While some—notably an unidentified correspondent—wrote disparagingly of Dale, the most responsible chroniclers, such as Hamor and Rolfe, went out of their way to interpolate praises for

the deputy governor. At one point, Rolfe undertook to predict that Marshal Dale's "worth and name" in managing the affairs of the colony would "out last the standing of this plantation." Under Dale, he testified, the Indians were coming "to our towns" to buy corn "whereas, heretofore we were constrayned yearely to go to the Indians." In order to obtain food, he added, "some of their pettie kings" had "mortgaged their whole countries, some of them not much less in quantitie than a shire in England."

In his methodical manner Rolfe gives us the first portrayal of life in the colony during this transition state, dividing the population into three categories: "1. Officers; 2. Labourers, and 3. Farmers." Without specifically mentioning officials of the colonial government, he defines "officers" as those having the "charge and care" of the other two classes, which, it would appear, would mean the Governor, his guard, and a certain number of men who had been detailed for military duty; in short, soldiers. Some of these may also have been planters, as, indeed, almost every one became as soon as Rolfe showed them that tobacco was an exportable crop. "Labourers" were divided into two classes: First, those who were employed in "general" or public work, and fed and clothed out of the general store, which was now not supported by all alike, but maintained by taxation; *i.e.*, by the receipt of a portion of the produce of the planters. The second class were "artificers" of all kinds, such as "smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, taylors, tanners, &c.," working "in their professions for the colony," the expression "for the colony" indicating that these classes had not yet attained full individual freedom. Nevertheless, as the "Relation" points out, they were independent of the general store through furnishing their food on time "limitted to them" to cultivate their own ground, thereby indicating that they were property holders. Furthermore, they must have received wages or their equivalent from private and public sources, since they supplied their own "apparrall."

Then follows an appreciation of country life, which was to be especially exemplified in Virginia in after years. "The Farmors," wrote Rolfe, "live at most ease," having more independence of movement and spare time at non-planting seasons; "yet," he adds, "by their good endeavours" they "bring yearlie much plentie" to

the commonwealth. Whereupon, bearing in mind that he is addressing his letter to King James in person, he seems to have feared a royal interpretation to the effect that "greater ease" would make the planters seem too free and independent; hence, he hastens to say that these individualists were "bound by covenant, both for themselves and servants, to maintaine your Ma'tie's right and title in that kingdom, against all foreigne and domestique enemies." They were also "to watch and ward in the townes where they are resident," and "To do thirty-one dayes service for the colony, when they shalbe called thereunto—yet not at all tymes, but when their owne busines can best spare them." This provision may be cited as a precedent for road-repair work in both colony and State, as well as militia service. While warmly defending the colony against current "defamations," Rolfe frankly admitted there was room for improvement.

Not only were the planters, already constituting the most influential body of citizens, to maintain themselves and their family, but each one was called upon "to pay yearlie into the magazine, for himself and every man servant, two barrells and a half a piece of their best Indian wheat"; *viz.*, corn. Servants, as yet altogether English or white, were not classified by Rolfe. Some of these had been of that class in England, such as Anne Burras, who seems to have left the service of Mrs. Forrest upon her marriage to John Laydon. Others were indentured to the colony to serve varying lengths of time to pay for their passage, of whom the abler ones became independent planters on gaining their freedom. In order to insure a sufficiency of food, Governor Dale required each planter to set out two acres of corn, lest the land owners devote themselves wholly to the raising of tobacco. Failure to comply meant the "forfeite to the Colony" of the offender's entire crop.

In all, Rolfe's census gave the population as three hundred and fifty-one persons, which, he wrote, was indeed "a small number to advance so great a work." These were divided into six settlements, in which the total proportion of farmers was as 81 to 270, the latter number including sixty-five women and children. In the breakdown of these figures according to location, one notes that the older the community, the greater was the proportion of farmers; for example, at Jamestown there were fifty-one persons, with

thirty-one farmers: at Henrico and its northside "precincte" there were thirty-eight men and boys, of whom twenty-two were farmers. By contrast, at Dales-Gift, near Cape Charles, the youngest settlement, all seventeen present were engaged in public work, or fishing, especially in the spring and fall seasons.*

Each of the precincts had an officer in charge, of whom the most noted were Captain George Yeardley at Bermuda Nether Hundred and Captain Isaac Madison at West and Shirley Hundred. Four of the six had ministers. At Henrico there was Mr. William Wickham, "who, in his life and doctrine" gave good example and godly instructions; at Bermuda Hundred, "Mr. Alexander Whitaker, son of the reverend and famous divine Dr. Whitaker," described as a "good divine"; and at Jamestown, Mr. Richard Buck, "a verie good preacher." These, as will be seen, were all well or warmly recommended, while the presence of the Reverend William Mays (Mease) at Kecoughtan was mentioned without comment.

THE PROBLEM OF CONVERSION

Although the active leaders of the London Company continually urged the primary objective of the spread of Christianity, it may be said that the generality of the early settlers could hardly be considered missionaries on behalf of that cause; especially as the treacherous attitude of the savages bred enmity rather than "amity." Nevertheless, many of the early colonial references to the matter of conversion convey the expectation that the plan would prosper. For example, we have in Sir Thomas Dale's report and in Rolfe's letter to King James evidence that some, at least, of the pioneers were earnestly interested in these higher aims. In fact, Rolfe naïvely expressed the hope that his Majesty would turn his attention to a "heavenly meditation, wherein much joy and comfort is to be reaped and found of all such as shall truly, sincerely and unfeynedly seeke to advance the honor of God, and to propagate his gossell." "There is," he added, "no small hope by pietie, clemencie, curtesie and civill demeanor (by which meanes

* Incidentally, it may be noted that for some time the colonists named the south bank of the James the "Southampton side," after the Earl of that name, while the north bank was named after Sir John Popham, promoter of the "second colony" of Virginia, which attempted settlement at Sagadahoc.

some are wonne to us alreadie) to convert and bring to the knowledge and true worship of Jesus Christ thousands of poore, wretched and misbelieving people" so that "they will soone be brought to abandon their old superstitions and idolatries, wherein they have been nursed and trayned from their infancies." Rolfe gives particular credit to the "worthy personages, both in England and in Virginia," who "have mightily upheld this christian cause." Hence, we have fair reason to infer that there were, besides the Anglican ministers, sundry laymen who labored in this vineyard, but whose names are lost to history.

In writing of the "begynning and original of the people," Secretary Strachey had marvelled that they "should maintayne so general and grosse a defection from the true knowledge of God," since "infallably" all men had "one and the same discent and beginning from the universal deluge, in the scattering of Noah, his children and nephews." * With respect to the Creation, Strachey describes the exchange of views between sundry Englishmen and the werowance Japazeus. Henry Spelman acted as interpreter, and it appears that this exchange arose from the curiosity of Japazeus about an illustrated Bible which showed a picture of the Garden of Eden. Strachey called the Indian concept of the genesis of the world "a pretty fabulous tale." Unfortunately, however, he failed to record what Japazeus may have thought of the Hebraic concept of Jehovah's six-day effort, presented in the literal interpretation of that age. Again, it is not unlikely that the Indian Machumps, dining with Governor Dale, was interested in the Christian grace before meals; for, when asked about his own custom, he twice, by request, followed out the ceremony of throwing a bit of food in the fire, with some words of invocation; and Strachey regretted that he "forgot to take it from him in writing."⁸

POCAHONTAS, AS LADY REBECCA, VISITS LONDON

Rolfe closed his letter to King James with a postscript census of the livestock in Virginia at the time he and Deputy Governor Dale left Jamestown in May, 1616. He reported only six horses in the colony, thus indicating that most of the ground was being tilled by means of such garden tools as the ponderous hoes of that

* "Nephews"; i.e., grandsons—*History of Travaile into Virginia, op. cit.*, p. 46.

period. There was a surprising quota of goats, the same considerably outnumbering the cattle. Of poultry he reported a great plenty; also hogs, which were "not to be numbered," partly because many ran wild, while others were, to use a contemporary term, "disfrequent"; *i.e.*, given to extended wanderings and irregular homecomings.

In 1609 Rolfe had set out from England with his young bride, who had borne him a daughter in Bermuda. Having lost both his first wife and their child, he was in 1616 accompanied by Pocahontas and their infant son, christened Thomas. With them on board the *Treasurer* were ten or twelve young Indians of both sexes, and the captured Spanish alcaide, Diego de Molina. As the guest of the London-Virginia Company, Pocahontas, now Lady Rebecca, was the toast of London and the talk of the realm.

That tireless chronicler, the Reverend Samuel Purchas, has left an eyewitness account of her visit; for he was present when the Lord Bishop of London "entertained her with festivall state and pompe." Of her progress in England he wrote that she "did not onely accustome her selfe to civilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed provision for her selfe and sonne, but of divers particular persons of Honor, in their hopeful zeale by her to advance Christianitie."⁹ In March, 1617, she was taken with a fatal illness, or as Purchas put it: "At her returne towards Virginia she came at Gravesend to her end and grave, having given great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginian conversion." *

* Since it appears inherent in human nature to spread and maintain ill rumors, it seems well to take cognizance of some such stories concerning this first Christian convert of note among the Indian women, whose real, or original, name was Matoaka; for Pocahontas was a nickname, meaning "playful one." Evidently there were other Indian girls called by this nickname; for example, one Amonate, who seems to have been the child that Secretary Strachey described as a visitor turning handsprings with the English boys at Jamestown; and since Amonate subsequently married an Indian by the name of Kocoum, this offered the basis for the report that Rolfe had married one who was already the wife of another. Fuel for this gossip was added in that "Pocahontas" was originally translated "wanton," as in Drayton's mention of "early wanton lambs." At the time of Strachey's writing, the maiden Matoaka was not known to fame. The gossip grew and even won a place in some histories when it was learned that Rolfe had, in dying, left a wife and children in Virginia, from which it was inferred that he had had a plurality of wives, which, indeed, he had, though never more than one at one and the same time. His third wife was Jane, the daughter of William Pierce.

John Rolfe's letter of June 8, 1617, addressed to Sir Edwin Sandys, provides the solution of conflicting stories as to the up-bringing of Thomas Rolfe, Captain John Smith having credited the education of the child to Sir Lewis Stukely of Plymouth, subsequently notorious as the betrayer of Raleigh and a coin clipper. The correct version is that which credits the child's uncle, Henry Rolfe, with having brought up and educated the youth. This is substantiated by a notation in the *Records of the Virginia Company of London* under date of October 7, 1622, in which Henry Rolfe specifically refers to "having brought up the child his said brother had by Powhatan's daughter, which child is yet living and in his custody." In his letter to Sandys, Rolfe stated it had been his intention to take his son to Virginia but that after he had left Gravesend "in our short passage to Plymouth," he found such "fear and hazard" of the child's health, largely from "lack of attendance," that by the advice of friends he had left him at Plymouth in the care of Sir Lewis Stukely until his brother "took further order." *

In discouraging contrast to the adaptability of Pocahontas was the obstinate attitude of Uttamatamakin, or Tomocomo, who accompanied "Lady Rebecca," and who was described as one of Powhatan's councillors or crockonoes. Tomocomo was frequently a guest of Doctor Theodore Gulston, where Purchas saw him "sing and dance his diabolical measures." Tomocomo not only rejected Christian doctrine but openly "blasphemed" what "he

* In one of the later narratives Captain Smith observes that Pocahontas was surprised to learn that he had not sent her word from England that he was living; as she, on meeting him, "obscured her face" and would not speak for hours. The story is told in such manner that numerous commentators have interpolated the thought that Matoaka's first love was John Smith rather than John Rolfe. That similar intimations abound in Smith's chronicles of adventures in the Old World is amusingly reflected in one of the poems inscribed to him in his history:

But what's all this? even Earth, Sea, Heaven above,
Tragabigzanda, Callamata's love,
Deare Pocahontas, Madam Shanoi's too,
Who did what love with modesty could doe:

—Smith's *Works*, Arber ed. II, 814.

Thomas Rolfe married in Virginia Jane Poythress; and, three centuries after Pocahontas' reception at the court of James I, one of her Virginia descendants, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, wife of the twenty-eighth President of the United States, was, with her husband, a guest at Buckingham Palace.

On his return to Jamestown Rolfe barely escaped shipwreck off the "dangerous shoulder of Cape Codd," *Records*, III, 70.

knew not," preferring his "Okee or Devil." Purchas also reports hearing that Powhatan had instructed Tocomoco to make notches on a stick in computing the number of Englishmen he saw, but that, on reaching England, "his arithmetike soone failed."

From this and other recorded contrasts, it appears that Pocahontas was an exception in the matter of fitting the Virginia aborigines into the Anglican civilization. Several of the Indians that accompanied Lady Rebecca died not long after their arrival in England, and sundry others proved quite a burden to the Virginia Company for some years thereafter, as sundry references in the accounts of the Company indicate. On May 11, 1620, it was noted that one of the maids "which Sir Thomas Dale brought from Virginia, a native of that country, who sometimes dwelt a servant with a Mercer in Cheapside is now very weak of a consumption at Mr. Goughs in the Black Friars"—evidently the Reverend William Gouge, D. D.,¹⁰ a cousin of the Reverend Alexander Whitaker of Virginia. Mr. Gouge took "great pains to comfort her both in soul and body," the Company allowing twenty shillings a week for her charge. He also provided for "the administering of Phisick and cordials for her health." On November 15, 1620, there was a reference to a committee appointed to look after "two Virginia maids remaining in the custody of Mr. William Webb." A later mention of these Indians is found in the records of June 13, 1621, as follows: "It being referred to this Court [the general Quarter Court of the Virginia Company] to direct some course for the dispose of two Indian maids having been a long time very chargeable to the Company, it is now ordered that they shall be furnished and sent to the Summer Islands whither they were willing to go with one servant apiece towards their preferment in marriage with such as shall accept of them with that means—with especial direction to the Governor and Council for the careful bestowing of them." *

The ancient story that Rolfe bore to England in 1616 the first

* The fact that these Indian maids were assigned servants may indicate that they were members of Powhatan's household and of "royal" blood. According to Professor Hotson, we find a pleasing sidelight to Pocahontas' sojourn in Britain in an invitation extended to the English poet, Robert Tofte, to visit Virginia; but it was not until 1620, shortly before his death, that Tofte was able to make the transatlantic journey. Cf. Hotson, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223. At least one of these maids was married in Bermuda with no little pomp and ceremony, there being one hundred guests present.

Virginia tobacco has been shown to be quite as fictitious as that which credited Raleigh's introduction of smoking in England. The *Treasurer*, however, did carry a crop that was described as "exceeding good," part of which may well have been of Rolfe's own raising. At this time Englishmen were considering a pamphlet entitled, "An advice how to plant tobacco in England," which carried the tale that the Virginia Indians believed "God in the creation did first make a woman, then a man, thirdly great maize or Indian wheat, and fourthly, Tobacco," called by the natives *opoak*.

"THE NORTHERNE PARTS"

In connection with the services of Governor Gates and Marshal Dale, several narrators have reported or repeated the story that Captain Argall, on his return from driving the French out of the northern parts of Virginia, stopped by at Manhattan Island and warned Dutch traders there to be gone, or else they would fall upon a similar fate. One objection to belief in this story is the circumstance that the London Company, on whom rested the responsibility of managing the colony in its domestic and, to some extent, its foreign relations, could hardly afford an affront to the Dutch, even though the latter were trespassing on Virginia territory; for besides the fact that the Dutch were natural allies against Spain, the London Company was specifically indebted to the States-General in the matter of granting leaves of absence to Gates and Dale, both of whom were holding military posts under the Netherlands government. The negotiations for their release were conducted through Lord Salisbury and the English ambassador to the Netherlands, Sir Ralph Winwood, who secured an extension of time for Gates because of his shipwreck on the Bermudas. Winwood not only asked that Gates' Dutch military company be kept intact for him against his return to service, but that his pay should be given him in full while on vacation. The States-General granted leave of absence and the maintenance of the company; but firmly declined the proposed "treatment for his person."¹¹

In March, 1614, Captains John Smith and Thomas Hunt sailed for the region to be officially called New England some six years

later. Unable to get employment from the Virginia-London Company, Smith undertook the voyage under the auspices of four London merchants; and, whether he was to blame or not, he fell out with his associates, particularly Hunt, whom he accused of various villainies. Thereafter he succeeded in interesting other Englishmen to send him out again in the following year; and he has recently been acclaimed as a principal founder of New England, this authority declaring that "too much stress has been laid upon Smith's brief career" at Jamestown, "which lasted but two [and a half] years," with not enough notice of his services in exploring and charting the northern coast, since his happy description thereof helped that region to "live down the bad name acquired from the failure" at Sagadahoc.*

Subsequently, Smith explained that he had set out mainly to capture whales. To the promoters he had mentioned the prospect of gold, with hints of furs. In 1616, he wrote a description of the region and his expressions afford a delightful mixture of naïveté and shrewdness. Shrewdly, he writes of his failure: "Had I returned rich I could not have erred." Naïvely, he writes that his "whale fishing" proved a "costly conclusion"; and that he vainly "spent much time in chasing them," only to observe that they were, after all, not the valuable kind. In one place, he appeals to his readers as one whose adventures had brought him no material returns; and in another, in his desire to interest new investors in further adventure, he observed that the fish and furs of his voyage had cleared a great fortune.¹²

But regardless of his claims as to things he did not do, Smith would have merited high praise merely for telling what he did do in exploring miles upon miles of coast line. He renamed many points; and while some of his nomenclature remains, such as

* Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, Vol. I, pp. 142, 251. That Smith's naming of the region was not officially recognized is indicated by the fact that the signers of the Mayflower Compact refer to their arrival in the "Northerne parts of Virginia." Cf. *Bradford's "History of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston, 1898, pp. 109-110. After the organization of the New England Council in 1620, following the sailing of the *Mayflower*, the Virginia-London Company took cognizance of the new name in the minutes of an "Extraordinary Court" that met on February 22, 1621, in which is found the following notation: "And because the Northerne Colony-Adventurers, had to their Territories given the name of New-England, he [Sir Edwin Sandys presiding] thought fitt that theirs did still retainæ the ould name of Virginia."—*Records*, I, 442.

Plymouth for Accomack, others were lost, as Cape James for Cape Cod.¹³ He urged colonization of the country, whither he wished to lead a great company, with ample soldiery to protect the settlers and he draws a pretty picture of an idyllic life where any man, woman, or child might pull up out of the sea "two pence, six pence, and twelve pence" worth of fish as fast as one could throw out a line. He did not, however, mention that the market for the fish was some three thousand miles away; and he showed he had little or none of the idealism of those who dreamed at home of the conversion of the heathen and of new concepts of liberty when he dryly observed that: "I am not so simple to think that ever any other motive than wealth will ever erect there a Commonwealth." Whether Smith's indomitable energy in pursuing his explorations attracted other venturers cannot be definitely determined; and except for subsequent references to his attempted connection with the Pilgrims, we can dismiss him with the double title he awarded himself as "Sometime Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England."

EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENTS

Following the Dale-Powhatan truce or what has been called the "Pocahontas peace," it is now possible to present a fairly clear impression of the expanding Virginia settlements as presented in contemporary descriptions. The generalities in John Rolfe's letter to King James, above quoted, are elaborated by Ralph Hamor. First it should be borne in mind that the James river, in its original course, made three hairpin curves above the mouth of the Appomattox and below the falls. Dale saw at once that high ground on these necks of land was ideal for fortifying by palisades against Indian attack, besides affording, because of narrowing of the ship channels here and there, sites for heavy guns that would command the stream, in case of the long-threatened attack by Spain. These settlements, *viz.*, Henrico and New Bermudas, afterward Bermuda Hundred, represent the first attempt in Virginia to construct towns made to order, and they succeeded in a peculiarly agricultural colony only so long as the settlers felt the need of the palisades for protection against the Indians. Once it

seemed to them this form of fortification had passed its usefulness, the palisades were neglected and the settlers began to scatter. Those capable of "engrossing" large parcels of land acquired great plantations, while the poorest strove to own land somewhere, even if on the utmost frontier, where they well knew they must live in imminent danger. Some looked for civilization to overtake them, while others seemed to prefer the wilderness.*

Even with "three parts thereof environed with the River," as Hamor described it, it was no slight task to construct miles of "strong Pale" with their "several Block-houses" at strategic points, over and above acres "impaled" for corn, described as more than enough to support the entire colony, even allowing for three years' immigrants. Henrico was Dale's special pride, having "three streets of well framed houses" and a "handsome church of brick."

In another bend of the James immediately to the west the new city had an addition called Coxen-Dale. This settlement was protected by "five Forts," one of which was "Mount malado," which Hamor described as "a retreat, or guest house for sick people," having "a high seat in wholesome aire." Evidence is lacking as to the use of this combination fort and hospital, although in *The New Life of Virginea* (Force's *Tracts*, *op. cit.*, p. 14) the hospital was to provide "foure-score lodgings" with "beds alreadie sent to furnish them for the sick and the lame," and "keepers to attend them for their comfort and recoverie." Glebe land in a "hundred acres impaled" was set aside for Mr. Whitaker, who built thereon a "fair framed parsonage house," which he called *Rock Hall*.†

Bermuda plantation, the neighboring settlement to the east on the south side of the river, was referred to as a "corporation" under a special charter by virtue of which, after three years' service, the inhabitants were to have their freedom. Jamestown was described as being set out in a handsome form with two fair rows of houses. In view of the long-held concept that the English, whether at Jamestown, or Plymouth, or St. Mary's, Maryland, began with log

* A graphic description of the difficulties of early pioneer life is presented in the first chapter of Professor Wertenbaker's biography of Nathaniel Bacon, *The Torchbearer of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 3-35.

† "Henricopolis" for "Henrico" is not uncommon, but this somewhat pedantic usage may, in similar fashion, be extended to Jamestown as "Jacobopolis," since a first settler wrote it that way.

For Henrico, as the site selected for the first school and college, see *infra*, p. 270.

cabins, it should be noted that the houses were specifically described as of "framed timber with two stories and garret," which last was used, in part at least, as a corn loft. The town was guarded by ordnance raised to a commanding height on the west side, supplemented with blockhouses to command the "back river." Outside of this small village center, with its "three large and substantial storehouses," there were reported several "very pleasant and beautiful houses," which may be said to mark the beginning of the more generous existence that was to distinguish rural life in Virginia. There were, also, "certain other farm houses." *

The year 1616, which marked the close of the Dale regime, marked also the beginning of an event of economic import next in importance to Rolfe's successful cultivation of tobacco; in fact, the second event flowed from the first. This was the start of a regular exchange of goods between the colonists and merchants in the mother country. Early in October there arrived the *Susan* bringing manufactured articles, or "necessary commodities," for which the Virginia planters bartered their tobacco crops. The merchant in charge, who came over with the commodities, was Abraham Piersey, a link between the former "cape merchants," who doled out goods from the common store, and the approaching new order wherein the storekeeper was his own master.

After the departure of Dale, Captain George Yeardley acted as lieutenant governor of the colony. Nominal or actual peace continued with the Powhatan Indians, but not with the Chickahomnies, who, according to the white man's account, had violated the terms of the treaty with Dale and Argall. The cause of the trouble is not clear, but, in view of Argall's bad record of defrauding the Company and plundering the colony, one is led to surmise that he had violated the treaty he had himself helped to make

* Public belief in the log cabin as the typical dwelling of the average English colonists from the beginning remains unchanged; even famous scholars cling to it and reiterate it in their books. . . .

Once launched, the Log Cabin Myth found easy going. The public was predisposed to accept it, no historian had sufficient knowledge to challenge it, and the dominant school of sociology taught that arts and crafts evolved through a spontaneous reaction of the individual to his environment rather than by derivation from an older culture. Illustrators engraved the Jamestown-log-cabin and Pilgrim-log-cabin pictures on the public mind, so that even honest investigators turned every "cottage" or "cabin" into a log cabin, and every "timber," "plank," or "rail" into a log.—Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 5, 214.

with the Chickahominies. This supposition seems the more likely since, after Yeardley had organized an expedition, "a more firm league" was arranged which "continued unviolated almost the space of two years." It was reported that twelve Indians were killed and twelve "captivated"; and that in the negotiations the former youth held by the Indians in hostage, now Captain Henry Spelman, was highly useful as interpreter.*

THE ARGALL REGIME

In 1617 there was a disastrous season caused by a "great drought," besides "a cruell storme of haile" on May 11 that "did much hurt" to the crops of corn and tobacco. It was stated that the storm broke at night and for half an hour "poured downe haile-stones eight and nine inches about." With respect to these acts of Providence, Purchas was explicit, but with regard to comments on the proceedings of Argall, ally of the powerful Earl of Warwick, the reverend narrator was quite discreet, as he frankly confesses avoiding discussion of what he briefly calls the "disgusts given to the Company" by the deputy governor. Despite the counter charges of Argall and his supporters, it now seems clear that during the latter part of Dale's governorship, and throughout the short first administration of Yeardley, the colonists enjoyed a period of welfare hitherto unknown. Then came Argall, who, as deputy governor, used his power for personal profit, granted awards that embarrassed the Company, and brought his critics to trial under martial law. Among the latter was Captain Edward Brewster, who was saved from execution by the interposition of the ministers of the colony and others. The sentence pronounced

*Despite the fact that the industrious chronicler, Samuel Purchas, relies heavily upon Smith's writings—at this point attributed by him to N. Powell, Serg. Boothe, W. Contrill and E. Gurganey (*Works*, Arber, ed., II, 526 ff.; Purchas XIX, 119)—Purchas presents a somewhat different picture of the slaying of one Richard Killingbeck and four other Englishmen who had "secretly" gone to trade with the Chickahominies. Since Killingbeck was shot by a gun in the hands of a native, charges were subsequently brought against Yeardley that he "had a Salvage or two so well trained up to their peeces, they were as expert as any of the English, and one he kept purposely to kill him fowle." The Smith compilation adds that, "There were divers others had Salvages in like manner for their men." In the inquiry conducted by the Virginia Court in 1624 as to the cause of the massacre of 1622, Yeardley was exonerated and Smith blamed for first teaching the Indians the use of guns.

by Argall was afterwards denounced by the Company Court in London, and Brewster was completely exonerated.¹⁴

Argall was either wholly unfit to be placed in such high authority or else his disposition underwent a change such as happened to Governor Sir William Berkeley many years later. In any case, he wrecked the assets of the Company in the colony and interfered with the marketing rights of many of the planters after they had begun to enjoy a fair measure of prosperity. Much of this is brought out in a letter from the Virginia Council in London to Argall direct, and even more plainly in a letter Nicholas Ferrar addressed to Lord Delaware on behalf of the Council. In fact, the condemnation could hardly have been stronger, since he was charged with having brought "more hazard to the Plantation than ever did any other thing that befell that action from the beginning."¹⁵

Argall may be likened to Captain Smith, a predecessor in high office, on the one hand; and to William Berkeley, a successor in the other. Like Berkeley, Argall sought a monopoly of the fur trade, which trade, although it has received little mention in contemporary accounts of this period, was evidently profitable to some of those engaged in it. Argall resembled Smith in making wholesale accusations against the colonists and the Company; and he likewise resented apparent slights to his authority. The letter from the Council to Lord Delaware took note of this trait in referring to Argall's "discontent in that we subscribed our letter sent unto him with [but] few hands." Also like Smith, he held to his office after he was supposed to have been retired; for as Gates had failed to arrive at Jamestown with his commission to supplant Smith as President of the Virginia Council, so Lord Delaware's death en route, according to Argall, invalidated the Company's plan to supplant him. In this matter, Argall may have had legal technicalities on his side; since, in an appearance before the Quarter Court of the London Company, it was reported: "Touching the point whether he was Governor or not, it plainly appeared by a letter sent unto him (which the said Argall now produced) signed by some of the Council and Company, that at the landing of the Lord Delaware in Virginia, he should surrender up his place; which seeing it pleased God to take his Lordship's life

from his mortal body before he landed there [Jamestown] this point stood clear that he [Argall] remained Governor, *in statu quo prius*.”*

Argall, who was a relative of Sir Thomas Smith, at first came under the censure of the latter as the then treasurer of the London Company; but, in the dispute which arose between Sandys and Sir Thomas, he, as a follower of the Earl of Warwick, became an active ally of Smith, Johnson, and others, in their attack upon the Sandys-Southampton group. In view of his anti-Spanish moves in the West Indies, Warwick could hardly be considered a member of the “Spanish party”; nevertheless, the “patriot” party of political liberals faced two small but powerful factions who soon came to have common ground in their opposition. In fact, the split between Smith and Sandys was brought into the open through the designs of Warwick, who defended Argall in the latter’s high-handed plundering of the Company’s resources in Virginia.

Warwick’s West Indies scheme, in its attempt to use the Bermudas and Jamestown as harbors and bases of supply in time of peace for expeditions against Spanish-American ports and shipping might well have made the London-Virginia Company responsible for huge damages or for war with Spain. With respect to the piratical raids of Warwick’s ship, the *Treasurer*, Sandys hastened to apologize to Ambassador Gondomar and to disclaim responsibility therefor. Sandys’ prompt action angered Warwick, since the admission of this attack endangered his relations at Court. Evidently it was this matter which caused him to bury a personal feud with Sir Thomas Smith and join the latter to overthrow Sandys and ultimately the Company itself.

Warwick prided himself on his piratical activities, and he actually felt aggrieved that he could not be free to rob the peoples then trading with England as well as active rivals and potential foes; for example, he complained that English ships had inter-

* *Ibid.*, I, 226. He evaded final judgment for his misdeeds, the Sandys group first hinting and then openly declaring that powerful friends were protecting him. He was knighted by King James in 1622, and two years later again sought the governorship of Virginia. Cf. *Records*, II, 394-395. In explanation of his failure to go against the Indians, Argall offered the plea of lack of munitions; but the evidence shows that since he was interested in equipping the company on board the *Treasurer*, that effort might have caused this scarcity in the colony. In fact, the Indians, having noted the silence of the fowling pieces, were quoted as saying the guns were “sick and not to be used.”—Cf. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 281.

vened to prevent his seizure of a vessel belonging to the queen mother of the Great Mogul. English intervention came by fortunate chance, for Warwick's rovers were intercepted by an East India Company fleet under Captain Martin Pring, early explorer of the Virginia coast. Sir Thomas Roe, then in India, declared that the lives and property of any and all Englishmen in India would have been forfeited had Warwick's piracy succeeded, and that the opening of the Orient to British trade might have been made impossible. As Sir Thomas picturesquely phrased the point in a letter to the East India Company, "I am loath to lie in irons for any man's fault but mine own." *

During Argall's regime, John Rolfe, though recorder-secretary in the colonial government, was, in December, 1617, a party to a protest in which he and nine other inhabitants of Bermuda Hundred were represented. At the time, Argall appears to have promised redress; but in March, 1618, he issued an order putting "Bermuda City" under a provost marshal of his appointing, of which proceeding details are lacking. The good effects of Argall's earlier contacts with the Indians when acting as a subordinate under Gates and Dale were completely nullified, so that in the spring of 1618, he was forced to admit the existence of conditions reminiscent of the first summer at Jamestown. Orders were issued that no one was to "trade with the perfidious savages" or entertain them, "lest they discover our weakness." To make matters worse, hunting, or even shooting in protection of crops, was restricted for lack of ammunition as all colonists were ordered to go to church fully armed.†

* Cf. W. Frank Craven, "The Earl of Warwick—A Speculator in Piracy," in *The Hispanic American Review*, Vol. X (1930), pp. 457-479. There is no proper comparison between Warwick's proceedings and those of Drake or his associates. Drake was fighting in defense of England against an actively hostile nation; while Warwick was willing, on mercenary warrants issued by foreign princes, to rob for himself and for the merchants who were his associates. Even the Venetians complained of being attacked by Warwick's vessels, the crews being enlisted on the basis of no plunder, no pay.

† *Records*, II, 405. Subsequently the correspondence of Colonial Secretary John Pory disclosed Pory's obligations to the Earl of Warwick, although the latter was not mentioned by name. He further disclosed the connection between Warwick and Argall. To quote: "Sir George Yeardley, I think, would not rob Captain Argall of my lord's [Warwick's] love, for he hath in him to deserve much; nor would he have his lordship to have spent so much love upon any man in vain; but only doth wish that Captain Argall being rich, a bachelor, and devoid of charge, would not so excessively intend his own thrift," the last being an amusingly euphemistic way of describing a dishonest official—in modern terms, a grafter. John Pory to Sir Edwin Sandys, January 13, 1620, *Records*, III, pp. 250-251. See also *ibid.*, 152-153.

DEATH OF LORD DELAWARE

It was the colony's unhappy fate that both Sir Thomas Gates and Lord Delaware failed to arrive at critical periods. The latter had set out for Virginia to resume his duties as sole "governor and Captain General" of the colony. Dying en route, mystery still shrouds the cause and place of his death. According to Purchas, his ship, the *Neptune*, spent sixteen weeks at sea, a long passage for the northern route; but there is no agreement as to where his Lordship died. The date of his death is given as of June 17, 1619; but this does not agree with the date given in the Earl of Warwick's suit against Edward Brewster, where it is asserted as a fact, "true, notorious, and manifest" that Delaware died on the seventh of July.¹⁶ Purchas, accepting Captain Smith's nomenclature for the northern coast of Virginia, averred that, with thirty deaths on board after leaving the island of Saint Michael in the Azores—where Lord Delaware was "honourably feasted"—the survivors "refreshed them selves on that coast of New England." Beyond recording further that the two-hundred-and-fifty-ton *Neptune* sailed from England in April and that the vessel bore two hundred people, we learn no more from this source. Other sources report that Lord Delaware died a few days after leaving the Azores, leading to rumors of "ill measures." The fact that Secretary John Pory said he died in Canada and that his widow averred he died in Virginia, coupled with Purchas' statement, gives the weight of evidence for some place on the northern coast. In any event, so passed the second "sole and absolute" governor of Virginia and the first to have a life appointment. Because of his death en route, the arrival of the leaderless *Neptune* at Jamestown afforded no more help for a bad situation than did the vessels that arrived after the Great Tempest in 1609; and to add to current troubles, the *Treasurer* came in with "a most pestilent disease."

While Argall was writing in derogatory terms of the colony, just after news had been received in Virginia of the Company's hope to send out new emigrants, the deputy governor issued, April 7, 1619, a proclamation defining and extending the bounds of Jamestown, which he, contrary to the testimony of his contemporaries save Captains Smith and Wingfield, described as be-

ing a healthful site for habitations. This arbitrary expansion included the Jamestown peninsula or "island" and extended to what he was pleased to call "Argall's Town" to the north and west, and east to include Archer's Hope and Hog Island. Within these bounds, he was to "give, leave and license for the inhabitants of Jamestown to plant as members of the corporation and parish of the same." Later, the Sandys group in the London Company complained specifically of this act as a plan designed to enhance the power of the Earl of Warwick.*

We now come to the end of what was to the Sandys-Southampton party the colonial nightmare that was Argall's rule, and the records indicate that the charges brought against him have a solid basis in the testimony of the most creditable persons. All that Warwick had in mind for Virginia is not positively known; but considerable evidence points towards a scheme to enter the African slave mart, with the consequent transporting of Negroes. The charge seems sustained by the known fact that Warwick, associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Robert Mansell, and others, sought a monopoly of trade with Guinea on the coast of Africa. While "a trade for gold" was the ostensible objective, it was quite plain the gold clause was a pretext for the seizure of Negroes, since the Guinea coast was almost synonymous with slaving operations.†

*During part of the period under discussion this evil genius of Virginia was known as Sir Robert Rich, and then Lord Rich, until he succeeded to his father's title as Earl of Warwick in April, 1619.

† "Perhaps the possibilities of the slave trade made him found The African Company which sent expeditions up the River Gambia" in 1619-1620. Cf. Boies Penrose, "Jacobean Links between America and Orient," in *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 292-293. Mr. Penrose comments on a somewhat paradoxical personality as follows: "This arresting figure, courtier, speculator, Puritan, parliamentarian, and pirate was keenly interested in both the East Indies and Virginia, although the manner in which he showed his interest was distinctly unethical and disconcerting."

Chapter X

"THE GREATE CHARTER"

THE Virginia-London Company's patent of 1609 laid the basis for an unprecedented achievement in the history of colonization. This achievement was the transfer, nine years later, of political prerogatives acquired by the Company to its colony in America. In short, it was a voluntary grant of self-government. Hence, it appears that there is no more notable event in American history than the result of the proceedings of the Company's Quarter Court sessions of November, 1618. Out of these deliberations came a charter conferring such privileges on the colony that the instrument framed for that purpose attained the significance, if not actually the status, of a written constitution. Under its provisions, the first legislative assembly in the New World was called into being as a counterpart to the Parliament of England. Coincidentally, both parliaments were soon confronted by the divine-right theory of absolutism and both were dissolved by a Stuart king; nevertheless, both reassembled to perpetuate the principles of representative government in the Old World and in the New.*

Occasionally, in the course of human experience, measures of considerable moment have been taken by the initiators thereof without a clear realization of consequences. Since the records of the London Company do not give preponderant space to the discussion of the plan for colonial self-government, some have assumed that the leaders laid the less store by it. On the contrary, now that we have the source material to evaluate the views and characteristics of the framers thereof, the conclusion is inevitable that these liberal leaders regarded their proceedings as of utmost

* Theoretically, the Company had reserved the power of approval of the acts of the Assembly; but actually the leaders then in control of the Company granted the Assembly's first request for equality in this matter; and, in practice, the Company did not interfere with or nullify any legislation the colonists saw fit to enact.

significance for the preservation and promulgation of popular procedure, a conclusion indicated by the name they gave their plan, which they appropriately called "*The greate Charter* of privileges, orders, and laws." And that industrious chronicler, Samuel Purchas, referred particularly to the "care which hath beene had here lately at home" to effect "an orderly course of good government and Justice." To this end, he added, there "hath beene compiled a booke of standing Orders and Constitutions." This framework, or constitution, was implemented in Virginia through the adoption, by duly elected representatives, of the "Lawes of England proper for the use" of the colony, and by the passage of other laws "justified by colonial conditions and circumstances."¹ In fact, it may be said that the procedure of the Virginia-London Company, followed by that of the first General Assembly of Virginia, provided a twofold precedent for the action of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, whose proceedings were in 1789 implemented by the Congress of the United States. This transfer of political powers may well be presented in the exact words of the Company:

We have thought good to bend our present cares and consultations according to the authority granted unto us from his Majesty under his great Seal to the settling there of a laudable form of government . . . for the happy guiding and governing of the people there inhabiting like as we have already done for the well ordering of our courts here and of our officers and actions for the behoof of that plantation.²

Since it is now established that Sir Edwin Sandys was the moving spirit behind the acquisition of the powers of government exercised by the London Company after 1609, as also the extension of these powers to the first colony after 1618, it is fitting at this point to present further details of his life and work.

ROLE OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS

From the time of his tutelage under Richard Hooker at Oxford throughout his course in the House of Commons, Sandys was a consistent champion of popular rights and representative government. On behalf of this cause, he had in 1604 headed a

committee to meet with the Lords to argue for the abolition of feudal tenures. In so doing he braved the wrath of ancient vested interests; and he opposed other powerful interests in advocating freer trade, in pursuance of his findings as head of a committee to investigate grievances preferred against the great commercial companies of that day. In 1607 he risked his initial favor with James I by arguing against the claim of the Crown that a common monarch had admitted the Scots to all the rights and privileges of Englishmen. Seven years later, he revealed in Parliament his view that sovereignty was vested in the people; and again, in May, 1614, Sandys had spoken to the effect that the origin of every monarchy lay in "election," or in the people's consent to the authority of the king on the basis of the establishment of reciprocal relations.*

There is, therefore, no sound reason for dismissing contemporary testimony respecting similar views allegedly expounded by Sandys as to popular consent on the part of the colonists of Virginia. Rather, this double demonstration of his popular sympathies suggests the thought that in Sir Edwin the English nation had the prototype and predecessor of Richard Bland, or of Thomas Jefferson. At this time, in fact, Sandys' liberal trend became so strengthened that he issued a cordial welcome to the Separatists in Holland to take up their abode in Virginia; and although he had frequently denounced the Spanish government as the leading proponent of "Romanism," he was tolerant of individual English Catholics who were known to be politically loyal to the English realm.†

* In so doing Sandys was laying the basis not only for the subsequent antagonism of Sir Thomas Smith but also that of king and court.

† "He had written a pamphlet, *Europae Speculum*, Or a *View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western part of the world*, which exhibits a remarkable attitude of tolerance toward Roman Catholics."—Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, I, 102 n. However, there were two "pamphlet" [?] reprints of the book, and the present author refers to the edition "Printed at London by T. Cotes for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene Arbor, 1638." This work was written shortly after Sandys' contacts with the theologians at Geneva and is severely critical of the then state of the "Church of Rome." The preface especially repudiates the "spurious stolne copy" of the original "Booke," which was "in part epitomized, in part amplified, and throughout most shamefully falsified and false Printed, from the Authours Original," which was written at Paris in 1599.

A knowledge of the political views expressed by Sandys in Parliament seems to confirm the belief that he was responsible for that development of democracy in the London-Virginia Company which provided for voting on the basis of membership, regardless of the amount of stock held, thus giving the owner of one share an equal vote and voice with the owner of a large number of shares. In the beginning, the voting was by the "erection of hands"; hence when the "court" faction endeavored to intimidate the "generality" of the Company by their power, rank, wealth, or influence with the king, Sandys secured and set up a "balloting box," by which the votes of the members at Company elections were kept secret.*

That the liberal leaders of the London Company both inculcated and practiced democratic principles—principles and practices they determined to transfer or develop in Virginia—is well illustrated by a formal rebuke administered to William Canning, who had insisted on making distinctions in the Company membership in reference to class or rank. Apparently, Canning had offended before, for he "was told of his wonted manner of seeking to interpose difference between Gentlemen and Citizens, a thing damned heretofore in Court as tending only to faction and disturbance of the peace of the company." Evidently the reply came from Sandys himself as "treasurer" or chairman of the meeting of October 20, 1619; and the rebuke was followed up at the meeting of November 3, with the threat of disfranchisement should Mr. Canning "continue in his wonted byas."³

With this background of the political position taken by Sir Edwin, it is now in order to quote the evidence available from contemporary sources covering sundry expressions of his, which, without this background, might be discounted as of doubtful authenticity. For example, Captain John Bargrave was said to have declared in a conversation with Sir Nathaniel Rich that Sandys

* Cf. Article XXI, of the "Orders" of 1619-1620: "For the avoiding of divers inconveniences, it is thought fit, that all elections of principal officers in or for Virginia, as also of the Treasurer and deputy here, be performed by a balloting box," *Records*, III, 343. This move came by way of a surprise to the opposition, so when such a box was introduced at the meeting for the Bermuda Company a few days later, the opponents of the popular party in that interlocking group promptly confiscated it.

had referred to the new form of government in Virginia as inclining towards, if not actually constituting, "a popular Government"; and that it was "his intent to erect a free state in Virginia and other words to that purpose." *

Likewise it seems logical to regard as authentic sundry expressions attributed to James I and Gondomar, set down some years later by Arthur Wodenoth. Gondomar, for instance, is alleged to have described the London Company as a "seminary for a seditious Parliament." Coupled with this is the remark associated with the instructions issued to the Company in 1620 by James I: "Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." †

Whether we accept Wodenoth's observations and those of Peckard in the latter's *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar*, or not, the fact remains that James I interfered in the affairs of the Company to prevent the re-election of Sandys and that he attempted to put control of the Company in the hands of the so-called "Court party." With good reason, therefore, it had been observed that leading spirits common to Company and Parliament "feared that the liberties of the English people might be suppressed by the King, and they looked hopefully to this new land as a haven for the oppressed." ‡ According to Wodenoth Sir Edwin Sandys had declared that the colonists should "have no government put upon them but by their own consents."

If, therefore, we take into consideration the testimony of contemporaries, the conclusion is inevitable that this departure from all known colonial policy was by no means merely incidental to matters of economic import. Furthermore, the promoters of the plan were well aware that it was dangerous to advertise their "democraticall" purposes, for fear of immediate interference by the king, which began as soon as James I and the "court" or "Spanish" party grasped the significance of the proceedings; but

* This thought bears comparison with the Statute of Westminster over three centuries later, the preamble of which declared that "the crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

† Wodenoth called himself an "ear witness"; and this term also appears in the "Copy of Minutes relating to the Censure passed on Alderman Johnson," *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, III, 149.

‡ Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Virginia Under the Stuarts* (Princeton, 1941), p. 33.

the reform had then been put into effect and the precedent established.*

Besides being the leader of the liberal forces in the Virginia-London Company, Sandys was ever active in the House of Commons in defense of popular government. With respect to Sir Edwin's enforced absence from the meetings of the Company, it is worth while to quote a brief notation from the Commons Journal, which, on November 30, 1621, recorded that the House "misseth Sir Edwin Sandys, moveth we may know what is become of him." On December 11, the House appointed a committee to go to the home of Sir Edwin in Kent, where he was confined by royal orders, to "see what state Sir Edwin Sandys is in, and if he is sick, indeed, to return his answer." It became the business of the projector of a later American colony, Sir George Calvert, Secretary to his Majesty, to explain to the Parliament the matter of Sandys' absence, which Calvert averred was not for anything said or done in Parliament. Although the "note taker" sententially observed that "The House will scarce believe Mr. Secretary, but thinketh he equivocateth," contemporary evidence indicates that Sandys' confinement was due to his attitude and procedure in what may be called the Company's parliament *for* Virginia which had, under his guidance, already set up a parliament *in* Virginia.

Sandys' personal trials were many. Only his intimate friends and associates knew of his constant anxiety for an invalid wife during the most troublous years of his stewardship in the London Company. Besides the attention he bestowed upon matters of policy, he frequently demonstrated his interest in the advancement of individuals. In him young John Rolfe testified he had found a father; and Sir Edwin took the time to look after the personal welfare and interests of other colonists. His fondness for

* Although some commentators have dwelt upon the political phase to the neglect of economic considerations, others have magnified economic issues of contemporary or local interest at the expense of the most far-reaching colonial procedure of the age. An illustration of political overemphasis is found in Brown's *English Politics in Early Virginia* (Boston, 1901); while the opposite extreme of overstressing the economic angle, almost to the exclusion of these more far-reaching values, is seen in Craven's *Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932), which has as its subtitle, "The Story of a Colonial Failure."

and dependence upon John Ferrar is most appealing, even though he may have found that Ferrar, however devoted to the colonial cause, was not the most practical deputy to look after the providing of colonial supplies, the more particularly as Ferrar had failed in the management of his personal estate, which eventually required the saving services of his brother. To John Ferrar, Sandys wrote almost weekly of public and private affairs in personal letters, as this of September 18, 1620:

Good Mr. Ferrar: I know you will partake with me deeply in my sorrow, not for the loss (I most humbly thank God) but for the extreme weakness and danger of my dearest: . . . Your news from Virginia would have brought me great joy, if my heavy mind were at this time capable of any. But God be praised who so prospereth our weak endeavor. Yet can I not forget Virginia, when my endeavors may do her good.⁴

Two years later, we find him writing again to his friend: "My poor wife groweth still worse and weaker, being wasted with the often fits of her tormenting pains."⁵ Previously, he had written that he was by easy stages bringing his helpmate from Kent to London, adding, "I cannot sufficiently prize the love of my friends there: who will not forsake me, though frowned on by so great persons. I would that to frown on me were the worst they meant me. But God forgive the wrong doers and receive them that are wronged into his protection."*

In view of the fact that the early history of America is inseparably connected with the history of the Virginia-London Company, it is desirable to examine the clash of opinions, objectives, and the differences in the personalities concerned; for from its organization, the Company had within it men actuated by divergent and, at times, conflicting aims. Broadly speaking, some, like Sir Thomas Smith, were sheer realists, looking principally for material ends. Happily for America, this group represented a minority. Placed by royal appointment in high authority, for a

* *Records*, III, 529. The persons thus frowning upon Sandys ranged from members of the Council, Sir Thomas Smith and the Earl of Warwick, to King James. There is no definite evidence to show that he was being secretly attacked by agents of political foes; but while he was in the country, his town house near the Aldersgate arch was ransacked and on another occasion his coachman was set upon, beaten, and robbed on a London street.

while they encouraged the supporters and promulgators of higher aims, since the latter were instrumental in enlisting public interest and securing contributions. Smith, as creator and manager of great trading companies, had been especially chosen by James I to lend his name and prestige to the new enterprise. Considering his great wealth, Sir Thomas invested comparatively little in Virginia—a matter that in itself is no reflection upon him in his accustomed profit-making role. After twelve years, he professed relief over the prospect of giving up the presidency; yet when he offered to resign, his gesture resembled that of Shakespeare’s Cæsar in refusing the crown. Had he accepted the change in good part, he would doubtless have attended subsequent meetings, even though he no longer sat at the head of the table. In this his behavior was in sharp contrast to that of Sandys, after Sir Edwin’s retirement from the same office.*

The active hostility Smith developed towards his successor in office might not have come about if the Sandys-Southampton-Ferrar group had not insisted upon an accounting or receipts and expenditures during Smith’s tenure of office. Sandys, Southampton, the Ferrars, Lord Cavendish, and the great majority of the Company membership felt that the funds had been mishandled, with which mishandling Sandys did not charge Smith personally except by way of not giving due supervision to the proceedings of subordinates. Finally, however, after repeated attempts had been made to examine the books under conditions considered necessary by the auditors, some members advocated indictment on direct charges of misconduct.

An illustration of the careful consideration employed by the Sandys group in referring to the management of Sir Thomas Smith is preserved in the minutes of the “Generall Quarter Court holden for Virginia” on February 5, 1623, when the method of keeping the Company’s accounts was severely castigated by the appointed examiners, who declared:

The Auditors after longe and great labour taken in perusing and considering of the Account exhibited by Sir Thomas Smith have found the same so defective, disorderly and intricate as it can hardly meritt

* When by action of the king and Privy Council he regained control, press of business no longer prevented his participation in the Company meetings.

the name of an Account, being many wayes faulty and altogether unexaminable.*

Sir Edwin Sandys, who presented the report of the auditors, patiently added, three years after the first attempt at auditing, that he did not "laye any aspersion upon the reputation of Sir Thomas Smith, further than of neglect and that through multitude of buissines: For the world knewe that Sir Thomas Smith neither kept the Accounts nor made them." †

THE KING INTERFERES

Doubtless if Sandys had served or sought commercial aims only, he would not have fallen afoul of James I and his Majesty's Privy Council; but, after the promulgation of the Great Charter, the dullest monarchist must have perceived that the London-Virginia Company had aims that were definitely opposed to the royal ambition to govern by absolute authority. The hostility of the king to Sandys had long been in evidence, so that the enmities of Smith, Warwick, and Argall well served the royal purpose. The downfall of the Company might have accompanied the royal order against the re-election of Sandys after his one-year term but for the interposition of the Earl of Southampton, who risked his personal

* The following item stirs conjecture with respect to using the Virginia "magazine" as a convenient dumping place for damaged goods of the East India Company: "Beads and cloth, 'very much moth eaten,' sold to the governor Sir Thos. Smythe for 31. 5s. for the Virginia voyage."—*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1513-1616* (ed. W. Noel Sainsbury, London, 1862), p. 158, "Court Minutes of the East India Company," September 4, 1607. The beads could hardly have been worth much while the cloth would seem to have been unsalable except by Smith as seller to Smith as buyer; and this brief note in the minutes of the East India Company may definitely account for the complaint by Captain John Smith as to the "rotten" tents furnished the first colonists. Suspicion, or evidence, lacking proof, is further directed against Sir Thomas Smith through the "Answer" of Sir Thomas Mildmay to the "bill of Complaint" as to his refusal to pay a promised subscription to the Company. Mildmay alleged that he had been sold a bill of goods through the false promises of profit made by Sir Robert Mansfield. Mildmay, answering suit for payment in December, 1612, declared he had heard that Sir Thomas Smith was using Virginia "money to make profit and advantage to himself."—Cf. *Records*, III, 40.

† Cf. *Records*, II, 261. "Weighty exceptions," meaning, no doubt, serious discrepancies, had been brought up by the auditors, which Sandys declared he desired not to make public, albeit the Earl of Southampton, presiding, urged that "they would proceed to do something therein." For the insistence of Smith that his own auditors be chosen and that the books should be examined only in his house, see *Records*, I, 225, *passim*.

liberty in support of the cause of the patriot party. Thereafter it was his prestige and personality which a while longer maintained the Company against enemies within its own household, enemies who knew they had the support of the king.

It has been observed that the first years of the reign of James I were mainly occupied with the constitutional struggle between the king and the House of Commons, and that it seemed, after fourteen years, as if “all questions at issue had been permanently settled in favour of the Crown.”⁶ With the most powerful popular body in the kingdom under control, the monarch then turned his attention to a determined effort to rule or ruin the corporation which was functioning as an independent parliament for Britain’s colony. The resistance of this representative group is, therefore, all the more remarkable; and the example set by it, together with its success in transplanting representative institutions in Virginia, may well have encouraged these same spirits and others in the Commons effectually and finally to challenge the divine right of kings and autocratic procedure in general.

As already stated, Sandys was, in the annual election of April, 1619, chosen president of the Company as successor to Sir Thomas Smith. In the following year, he would have been re-elected to that office but for the imposed objections of James I. Because of royal interference the Company held up the election for two months; then, having courageously, but withal diplomatically, rejected the candidates proposed by his Majesty, the matter was compounded by choosing the Earl of Southampton; but it was well understood by the majority that the Earl would support Sir Edwin’s policies, while Sir Edwin agreed to bear the chief burden of the work.

When present, Southampton presided over the Company sessions, and in connection with the constant criticism of Samuel Wrote, it is worth noting that Mr. Binge arose to accuse Southampton of assuming an air of boredom while Wrote was speaking. According to Mr. Binge, the Earl “sett him downe in his chaire, pullinge his hatt over his eyes and folding his armes acrossse and leninge backward in his Chaire, as if all were lost.” Binge also averred that his lordship had said that “there would be no peace or quiet” in the Company till Mr. Wrote was put out of it.

Subsequently the significance of Mr. Wrote's role became apparent when Binge announced that he would not answer certain charges "till the returne of my Lord of Warwick and Mr. Wrote, *who were now with the Kinge.*" *

SANDYS' MANAGEMENT OF COLONIAL AFFAIRS

From the beginning, Sandys, as the active director of Virginia colonization, labored under numerous difficulties occasioned by mother nature, by fallible friends, and vengeful opponents. If he failed, even in a material sense only, this failure may hardly be ascribed to him or wholly to his management. In the first place, he felt in honor bound to settle debts that had long remained unpaid under the management of Sir Thomas Smith. These payments drew upon the treasury to the sum of upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars in modern values. Furthermore, the wreck of the Company's property in Virginia, for which Argall and Warwick were responsible, could not be estimated in recoverable damages, which involved not merely the misappropriation of property, but a serious check upon the first real prosperity enjoyed by the planters.⁷

Sandys, both as the actual president of the Virginia Company and as the active executive therein under Southampton, was but human in making mistakes. He seems, for instance, to have placed too great trust in the business ability of those appointed to attend to the details of equipping the colonists sent to Virginia. Those selected to look after these matters had a difficult task, in view of the fact that many mariners and tradespeople regarded passengers bound for the New World as a very proper prey for private exploitation. Certainly those selling supplies contributed their full share of fraud; and that the shippers also put in a hand may be seen continuously from the beginning, when Captain Wingfield complained of losing books and goods packed for the 1606-1607 voyage to Virginia.

* Italics inserted. In derogation of the Company it has been stated that the minutes of the Company courts were frequently called in question. Cf. W. F. Craven, *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company*, p. 7. Examination of the citations presented by Dr. Craven shows that these objections were made consistently by Wrote, who was evidently acting as an agent for the king.

On the other hand, Sandys brought about definite reforms; for example, he found that the death of passengers en route had been made profitable to scheming mariners, who quietly appropriated the deceased passengers' goods. To put a stop to these outrages, Sandys arranged to register the names of the "venturers." This precaution made claims legally good, whereas they had been previously uncollectible where proof of passage was lacking. In Virginia, somewhat similar regulations were made forbidding colonists to board incoming vessels until an official tally had been made of passengers and cargo, the reason being that if the mariners learned of the death of any persons in the colony to whom goods on board were consigned, they would secretly take over the same. In addition, statistics of mortality on the transatlantic passage were now reported, and there were amazing differences in the death rates among the vessels; for example, a Company Court held December 13, 1620, reported that the *Jonathan* lost "about sixteen" passengers out of two hundred; but that her consort, the *Swan*, lost but one out of seventy.⁸ In some cases, with respect to the death of a passenger, it was noted, with evident satisfaction, that the loss was made good en route by the birth of another. It was an unusual voyage for any ship if all outgoing passengers arrived safe at Jamestown; and the death rate on board the *Jonathan* was many times duplicated. Frequently it was complained that food was not supplied in the quantities the Company had agreed upon; and very often they lacked many of the promised implements for household use and husbandry. Some of the food supplies were not infrequently spoiled at the time of shipment, or en route. The classic example of complaint is that indited by Lady Wyatt, wife of the second governor appointed under the Great Charter, who wrote that on board the *Abigail*, "our beer stunk so I could not endure the deck for it." *

Lady Wyatt's testimony as to the spoiled beer is supported by

* *Records*, IV, 233. The difficulties arising from the wholesale hospitality extended to immigrants were illustrated by Governor Yeardley after the unexpected arrival of four ships crowded with prospective colonists. They had come over in May just before the season of malarial agues and fevers, when there was sure to ensue a high degree of sickness and mortality. Upon Yeardley fell the chief responsibility of the first care and placing of the newcomers. A number—estimated at "one hundred at least"—were sick and some were reported "crazy" (*supra*, p. 163); and now, wrote the hard-pressed governor, "this great heat of weather striketh many more."

subsequent proceedings in the Virginia Company courts, whereby is preserved the name of the guilty merchant in James Duppá, brewer and purveyor of "bad conditioned beer," who had, nevertheless, charged the Company "a great price for itt." Since it was stated that the drink had "likelie much endamaged" the unhappy passengers' health, a committee was appointed "to goe to Mr. Duppá and talke with him about itt and bringe his answer to the Quarter Courte that accordingly the Company may resolve how to proceed against him."⁹ In any event, a virulent disease beset those on board, resulting in many deaths en route and soon after landing. Lady Wyatt was likewise pungent in some of her comments anent "stuffing that ship,"¹⁰ the said *Abigail*. "I had not," she wrote to her sister, Lady Sandys, April 4, 1623, "so much as my Cabin free to my self. Our Captain seemed to be troubled at it, and layed all the fault on the two Mr. Ferrars, and to make the people amends, dyed himself." Judging, however, from transatlantic voyages made a century and a half later, it would at this time have been a marvel indeed if Lady Wyatt had had an entire cabin.*

The remark of the captain of the *Abigail* about the "two Mr. Ferrars" doubtless illustrates the point that the Company officials were subject to impositions by the numerous sharpers that infested shipping centers, from brewers and suppliers like Duppá to the careless "purser" complained of by George Sandys in Virginia, as a "man without witt, or out of his witts, who has lost much and never delivered a great part of his goods, throwing them upon the shore scarce above the hygh water mark, without the informing of any, or setting any to guard them."†

In the mother country, Sandys was a farmer, in that he owned a fair English estate, whence he addressed many letters to John

* The hardships of voyaging that were endured even in the latter part of the eighteenth century are illustrated in the *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews in collaboration with Charles McLean Andrews (New Haven, 1921). This "Lady of Quality" had also to share her cabin, and ordinary passengers had to deal with an unscrupulous captain, who treated them like cattle, or worse.

† George Sandys to John Ferrar, April 8, 1623, in *Records*, IV, 109. Nicholas Ferrar, the younger brother, became the most diligent worker among the Company's leaders. To quote Peckard, here were "Three able men . . . Lord Southampton, celebrated for wisdom, eloquence, and sweet deportment; Sir Edwyn Sandys for great knowledge, and integrity; and Nicholas Ferrar for wonderful abilities, unwearied diligence, and the strictest virtue."—*Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 151.

Ferrar and other friends and associates. In the midst of discussing parliamentary measures and colonial affairs, he would in one paragraph inquire about the shipment of cedars he wanted to set out, and in the next refer to the king's insistence upon the culture of silkworms in Virginia. The Ferrars agreed with his Majesty in the impractical scheme for producing Virginia silk; while Sir Edwin appears to have shared some of the monarch's dislike for tobacco. Regretfully, it seems, Sandys finally recognized tobacco as a commodity of high commercial significance for the economic welfare of the colonists, but his remarks about the plant were never complimentary. Speaking of it even as a revenue producer for the Virginians, he described it as a "deceivable weed," which "served neither necessity nor for ornament to the life of man, but was founded only upon an humour which might soone vanish into smoake and come to nothing."¹¹

Sandys was continually urging the colonists to raise other crops; furthermore, tobacco was the cause of, or made the excuse for, the Privy Council's dispute with the Virginia Company, in which the latter, forced to an issue, strove to secure from the king some kind of taxable basis other than one which would assure the Crown a share in the importation of tobacco whilst forcing the Company to shoulder all costs. The discussion involved in the proposed "Tobacco Contract" takes up pages and pages of the records of the Company; yet it is worth comparatively little attention in history, since the Company was dissolved before the agreement finally reached could be put into effect. In short, the proposed "contract" has historical importance chiefly because it offers additional evidence of the king's purpose to resume control of the colony and because of the light it throws upon the claim that a "Spanish party" existed, which party was inimical to the London-Virginia Company, whether it openly played that role or not. That such an element existed in England when Jamestown was projected is seen by a private manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, written about 1606, in which occurs an argument against making public any "justification for planting in Virginia" as likely to "raise undisputably two pen-adversaries," the first being those who supported the Spaniards' contention of a New World title by "Donation" of Pope Alexander; while the "second sort

will be neutral writers, but of Spanish affections." The paper closed with the thought that it were best to proceed to the action and to justify it later, if need be, as a *fait accompli*.¹²

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that during the years of the Sandys-Southampton-Ferrar management James I was actively promoting the suit of Prince Charles for the hand of the Infanta, which explains, no doubt, why his Majesty insisted upon allowing entry of a great quantity of Spanish tobacco in competition with the Virginia product. He also autocratically interfered with the shipping of Virginia tobacco direct to the Netherlands, where the "poorer sort" of leaf was having a good sale—partly, perhaps, because the Dutch preferred to trade with Virginia rather than with their Spanish foes. In fact, it was alleged that in 1621 the tobacco crop was transported to Holland, where the colony had established agents and "factories."¹³

As the owner of an estate in England, it was natural for Sandys to lay great stress on the value of colonial tenants; but a tenant in England, assigned to this or to that place or task, was one thing there and quite another in America. When the tenant arrived in Virginia, he faced a different outlook; he acquired a new value as a person; and he would not stay put, as often he could not, in the changes and vicissitudes of New World conditions. In short, the promoters of colonization in the mother country thought of life in Virginia in terms of the English village or town with its individual artisans, skilled in and given over to their various crafts. They also envisioned in America the country estate, the squire, and the landed gentry, and their dependents; but their plans for the building of towns and for successive generations of craftsmen associated therewith were not workable, for reasons outlined above. In the matter of country life, their ideas were destined to come nearer realization, except that the tenant "venturer" of spirit would not remain beholden to his master or landlord longer than his own circumstances permitted, or the law of indenture provided; for, in America, the indenture of the servant soon gave place to the venture of the individualist. Hence, the forces of nature and human nature worked against the efforts of the London Company to establish considerable tracts of public or Company land to be farmed indefinitely by tenants; and the records

show that there was at least one private first planter who welcomed deserters on better and easier terms, and there might have been others like him.*

These were some of the socio-economic problems that Sandys was striving to solve when the Company was dissolved by action of the king and Privy Council. Sir Edwin's efforts to secure only desirable emigrants, and many of them, were but partially successful; for there were profiteers in personnel as well as in material. However, the discussion of the tide of immigration that he stimulated may best be taken up in connection with the administrations in Virginia of Sir George Yeardley and Sir Francis Wyatt. A fresh start promised well; but, throughout the Sandys-Southampton regime, the liberal leaders of the London Company confronted not only a hostile monarch and sundry influential political enemies, but also the catalog of ills covered by the Anglican litany in pestilence, battle, famine, murder, and sudden death. The first and principal purpose and greatest hope for conversion of the Indians was blasted by the "General Massacre," together with the equally noble plan for a system of education of English and Indian youth that was to begin with free schools and, by a process of selection, to extend to a colonial university.

ADDENDA

NOTES ON THE VIRGINIA INDIANS

Although Hariot, Brereton, and other pre-Jamestown explorers tell of the Indians found by them along the Atlantic coast; and although pioneer settlers, such as Archer, Percy, and Smith, recorded Indian customs, it remained for Secretary William Strachey to preserve certain interesting details not noted by his contemporaries. Some of these details have been presented in previous chapters; but the following sidelights illuminate certain characteristics

* Complaints on this score were made against that "ancient" or first planter, Captain John Martin, who was, like Captain Smith, a "stormy petrel"; for example, "It was commonly reported that Captain Martin's Plantation was a place of refuge for such as were indebted, whither they commonly fled and were protected."—*Cf. Records*, II, 43. Again, he was particularly cited by Lord Cavendish as a trouble-maker in the select group that included Samuel Wrote, and Captain Argall.—*Records*, II, 171.

of the Algonkians of the Chesapeake region, who, it appears, offered a remarkable variety¹⁴ in customs and characteristics and of whom comparatively little is known.

Of the savages first encountered by the English pioneers, the most powerful groups were the Powhatans and Pamunkeys, to whom sundry lesser tribes within the so-called Powhatan confederation were subordinate; for example, those on the lower Eastern Shore, whose best-known werowance, Debedeavon, was awarded the remarkable nickname of the "Laughing King." The Chickahominies agreed to a unique treaty, as above set forth; while the Monacans for some time remained in the background; and other tribes to the south and to the north came prominently into notice at a later period.

Strachey's industry in taking notes has been indicated by his rendition of the Indian war chant¹⁵ and by his comment on the Indian "grace" at meals, which he regretted not having taken down. In fact, Strachey's observations on Indian customs have too generally been overlooked. It is little known, for instance, that he recorded the Chesapeake Indian word *quintan*, meaning what others loosely called *canoe*. Strachey commented as follows: "Their fishing is much in boats. These they call quintans."¹⁶ The savages, continued Strachey, "make them with one tree, by burning and scraping away the coales with stones and shells, tyll they have made them in forme of a trough. Some of them are an ell deepe, and forty or fifty foote in length, and some will transport forty men. Instead of oares they use paddles and sticks." Hence, to apply the word *canoe* to these huge hollowed out trunks creates the impression that they were like the birchbark craft of the north-east in use on much smaller streams than the wide estuaries of the Chesapeake.*

Strachey represented the Indians as "huge eaters" and that "we ourselves doe give unto every Indian that labours with us in our forts, doble the allowance of one of our owne men."¹⁷

Of the preparation of their food, it is appropriate to mention

* *Quintan* is a close cognate to the better known *aquiden* in the Algonkian tongue of northern New England, signifying something that "floats upon the water."—Frank G. Speck, in letter to author, July 18, 1941. See also Speck, *Penobscot Man* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 59 *et seq.*

in particular the Indian method for making corn pone. After telling of the boiling of green corn on the cob—the modern "roasting ear"—as well as cooking the same unshucked in "hot ashes," Strachey describes the making of pone. First, the Indians "steeped" the grain in hot water, thereafter pounding it in a mortar and sifting it through a basket. They put this coarse "flour" in a wooden platter; "which, blending with water, they make into flatt, broad cakes . . . and these they call appones." They then covered the "cakes" with hot ashes "till they be baked."¹⁸

Besides references to the Indian dwellings, as the English called them, Strachey attempted a description of Powhatan's "treasure" house, which was a mile away from Orapax, Powhatan's seat. It was "sett in a thicket of wood," and contained "skynnes, copper, perle, and beades," which the werowance had stored "against the tyme of his death and buryall"; here was "also his store of red paint for oyntment, and bowes, and arrowes." The house was "fifty or sixty yards in length"; and, to show that the Indians were not without ideas of art, this "principal house" was guarded by four images "sett as careful sentinells . . . (for soe they believe of them): one is a dragon: another like a bear; the third like a leopard; and the fourth a giant-like man."¹⁹

Naturally, hunting was a principal exercise—not merely as a sport but also as a means of subsistence. However, Strachey briefly described another "kynd of exercise . . . like that which boyes call bandy in English, and maye be an auncient game, as yt seemeth in Virgill. . . . Likewise they have the exercise of football, in which they only forceably encounter with the foot to carry the ball the one from the other." This they kicked "to the goale with a kind of dexterity and swift footmanship." Strachey added that they did not trip each other up "as we doe, not accounting it praiseworthy to purchase a goale by such an advantage." *

* *Ibid.*, p. 78. Spelman offered the story of playing football, with, however, the special limitation: "They use," he wrote, "football play, which women and young boys do much play at. The men never. They make their goals as ours, only they never fight nor pull one another down." On the other hand, he added: "The men play with a little ball, letting it fall out of their hand and striketh it with the top of his foot."—*Cf.* Henry Spelman, *A Relation of Virginia*.

INTEREST IN VIRGINIA FLORA AND FAUNA

It seems likely that samples of every transportable product were sent to England by the early settlers. With respect to the logs shipped by Yeardley to fashion English furniture out of Virginia walnut, inquiries were started with a view to finding some of these articles. The opening of the World War, however, prevented the continuance of the research that might have revealed their present existence in the homes of descendants of the known recipients. Unlike such items as Powhatan's raccoon coat, presented to James I, the walnut furniture became the property of private individuals. Hence, the greater difficulty in finding the articles and of authenticating the same if and when found.

The first encounters of the colonists with the persimmon and other native Virginia plants have been told in the preceding pages, in addition to the attempts at the introduction of tropical fruits. In Secretary Ralph Hamor's *Discourse* is found an original description of the opossum which, he wrote, "is a beast of as strange as incredible nature, she hath commonly seven young ones, which at her pleasure, till they be a month old or more, she taketh up and putteth forth again without hurt to herself or them." Of the American wild pigeon (but recently extinct) he wrote: "Myself have seen three or four hours together flocks in the air, so thick that even they have shadowed the sun from us."²⁰

Many Englishmen were interested in Virginia flora and fauna. Besides the flying squirrels sought by the Earl of Southampton for the king²¹ and the deer sent by Governor Yeardley to his Majesty, a cursory examination of private records indicates that in England there was active competition for American exhibits. At a later date, this curiosity was reflected in Maryland, Governor Calvert regretting the death of a "lyon" and the escape of a "red bird," both of which he had planned to ship to Lord Baltimore. Besides "wild Cats," or lions, Hamor reported beavers, muskrats, raccoons, otters, and foxes. Among the birds there were eagles, wild turkeys, cranes, herons, turkey buzzards, partridges, owls, swans, geese, ducks, and woodpeckers. He noted also some eighteen kinds of fish, while complaining of the lack of salt, wherewith "we might have taken as much fish as would have served us that whole year."

Chapter XI

THE CORNERSTONE OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

HAVING appointed Sir George Yeardley governor of the colony for a three-year term, the London Company directed him to carry out the provisions of "*The Greate Charter of privileges, orders, and laws.*"

Of Yeardley it may be said that he was a service official who had risen to this responsible position by virtue of industry and ability. Described by Pory as a soldier "truly bred in that university of Warre, the lowe Countries,"¹ we first hear of him when he sailed for Virginia with Sir Thomas Gates. He was then acting in the comparatively humble capacity of Captain of the Guard. With Gates, he had suffered shipwreck in the *Sea Venture*.

Among the passengers on board the *Falcon* of the Gates-Somers fleet in 1609 was Temperance Flowerdew, destined to be Lady Yeardley when her husband was knighted in England on December 4, 1618. Subsequently, with respect to Yeardley's successful career in the colony, Mr. Secretary Pory testified as follows:

The Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deal of worth in his person, brought onely his sworde with him, was, at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his meer gettings here, able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnishe himselfe for his voiage.*

* Letter from John Pory, September 30, 1619, *Records*, III, 221. There are several surmises concerning the Yeardley-Flowerdew romance, one being that Temperance, with her older brother Stanley, came to Virginia when but a child. Another is to the effect that Temperance, being of a higher-ranking family, was too proud to marry a simple captain of the colonial guard and that, since she was in love with him, she spurred him on to advancement; Mistress Yeardley she would not be, but "Lady Yeardley" and the wife of the colonial governor was to her liking. Certainly, it is hard to explain why she remained so long single in Virginia when—even years later—Colonel William Byrd reported that a spinster was as "ominous as a Blazing star."

Pory's comment about Yeardley's success as a planter in Virginia may be borne in mind as an offset to the accustomed picture of early hardships, and the colonial secretary's correspondence indicates that a fair return was by no means limited to a few officials. Highly illuminating are Pory's comments on the profits to be derived from cultivating tobacco, "Wherein one man by his owne labour hath in one year, raised to himselfe to the value of £200 sterling; and another by the means of sixe servants hath cleared at one crop a thousand pound England." After remarking, however, that these examples were not universal, Pory declared they furnished excellent precedents. Briefly commenting on the mortality by sea and that of the "first years" in seasoning, he observed that the fittest had survived; for if they "escape" these two main devastations, "they prove very hardy, and sound able men." Still more illuminating in its social as well as economic interpretation is the following semi-humorous observation as to the "generality":

Now that your lordship may knowe we are not the veriest beggers in the worlde, our Cowe-keeper here of James citty on Sundayes goes acowtered all in freshe flaming silkes, and a wife of one that in England had professed the blacke arte not of a scholler but of a collier of Croydon, weares her rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband and a silken suite thereto correspondent.

In the annals of mankind, reports of disasters, disease, dearth, and death are often foremost, usually to the subordination, or even the exclusion, of things of happier import yet of equal or greater importance. In the case of the Virginia colony, we come upon occasional notations of the quiet existence of pioneer planters who, in modern terms, 'made good.' Besides a declaration made by Richard Brewster that he and three others had in one year "made 2800 weight of tobacco besides 100 bushels of corn," we come upon an unintentionally comic note in the testimony regarding a similar success on the part of William Capps, of whom it was reported that, "With three boys only, which he said were not a man and a half, he had made three thousand weight of tobacco and had sold 50 barrels of corn heaped measure," besides even more for his own store. "All this he had performed by

the labor of those three boys, only himself having never done (as he termed it) one stroke of work." *

Governor Yeardley's task in the colony corresponded with that of Sir Edwin Sandys in the Company. As Sandys paid off the Company debts and labored to repair the financial losses incurred during the regime of Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Robert Johnson, so Yeardley labored to restore confidence among the settlers, over and above an effort to make up colonial losses due to Argall's plundering of public property.

Upon his arrival as Governor of Virginia, Yeardley formally confirmed the right of all freemen to own private property. All "venturers" who had come at their own expense before the departure of Deputy Governor Dale in April three years before were to have one hundred acres each, in addition to a second such acreage later and sundry accretions thereto, in return for their "adventures," at the rate of one hundred acres per share. Every "ancient" planter whose passage had been paid by the Virginia-London Company was, at the expiration of his indenture or term of service, to receive one hundred acres, while later settlers who had paid their passage were to receive a gift of fifty acres.

The extraordinary care and consideration of the Sandys-Southampton group for the welfare of the colonists is shown by the efforts to relieve the settlers of the burden of taxation. Hence, in order to defray the necessary expenses of the government, Yeardley was directed to set aside public lands for the support of the governor and other chief officers.† As the Company expressed it:

Because our intent is to Ease all the Inhabitants of Virginia forever of all taxes and public burthens as much as may be and to take away all occasion of oppression and corruption we have thought fit to begin (according to the laudable Example of the most famous Common Wealthes both past and present) to alot and lay out A Convenient

* *Records*, II, 524-525. For the sake of this picturesque and always outspoken "ancient planter," it is to be hoped that the interpretation that he worked at other matters is the correct one, for additional notations indicate that he was active in managing several properties. The Company lauded him twice for his services. *Records*, I, 609, 615.

† The precedent the Company set in land grants for the support of a colonial university was followed by the government of the United States in the setting up of territorial counterparts in the western territory.

portion of public charges both here and there from time to time arising.²

ELECTIONS UNDER THE "GREATER CHARTER"

Soon after making official announcement of the new regime, Governor Yeardley prepared for the calling of a legislative assembly, which was to meet annually with "power to make and ordain whatsoever laws and orders" should be thought "good and profitable" for the colony. It was provided that each of eleven "plantations" or electoral districts comprised in the four boroughs of James City, the City of Henrico, Charles City, and Kecoughtan should elect representatives to the proposed assembly. John Pory, as secretary, did not, apparently, consider it worth while to record the manner or method by which the representatives, or "Burgesses," of the various electoral districts were chosen. It seems safe to assume, however, that all freemen had an equal "voice" in the election; for such was the case in the founding of Maryland some years later, the settlers there following a number of the precedents set by Jamestown.

Jamestown, in the borough of "James City," elected Captain William Powell and Ensign William Spense; and the three other districts in this borough; *viz.*, Argall's Gift, Martin's Hundred, and Lawne's Plantation, chose respectively Thomas Pawlett and Edward Gourgaing; John Boys (Boyce) and John Jackson; and Christopher Lawne and Ensign Washer. The city or corporation of Henrico elected Thomas Dowse and John Polentine; Charles City sent Samuel Sharpe and Samuel Jordan; Smith's Hundred, Captain Thomas Graves and Walter Shelley; Flowerdew Hundred elected John Jefferson and Ensign Thomas Rossingham; Martin's Brandon chose Thomas Davis and Robert Stacy; Ward's Plantation returned Captain John Ward and John Gibbs; while Captain William Tucker and William Capps represented Kecoughtan.*

* It seems impossible to spell this Indian proper noun improperly, or in a way for which there may not be found some authority. The word lent itself to so many varieties of orthography that we find it spelled in several different ways in the same report. Perhaps lack of even an approximately standardized form caused the first Assembly to propose that the "savage" nomenclature be changed. Cf. *Records*, III, 161.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY

This body was first convened in "the Quire of the church" at Jamestown on July 30, 1619 (August 9, N. S.). Sitting with the Burgesses at first were the Governor and his Council, among whom we find John Pory, William Wickham, and Samuel Maccok, together with others bearing such familiar names as Captain Francis West, John Rolfe, and Captain Nathaniel Powell. Evidently because of his parliamentary experience, Secretary Pory was appointed Speaker. Beside him were John Twine, clerk; and Thomas Pierse, sergeant at arms. "Forasmuch as men's affairs doe little prosper where God's service is neglected," all the Burgesses-elect took their places in the choir "till a prayer was said by Mr. Buck, the minister, that it would please God to guide and to sanctify all our proceedings to his own glory and to the good of this Plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intent that as we had begun at God Almighty," the Burgesses were called upon to swear allegiance to the king, the members of the Council having been previously sworn.

Prayer and oath are still a part of the legislative exercises under the modern Republic, and the third step taken by this body follows pretty much the present order, which was to pass upon credentials of those elected. Two were rejected on grounds destined to be heard repeatedly in the United States under the political battle cry of "special privilege." Here, in its first claim to governmental participation, special privilege was summarily disallowed by the Assembly in its refusal to seat the representatives of Martin's Brandon; for Captain John Martin had secured a patent granting exemptions and prerogatives not allowed other planters. Having, on principle, excluded the two Burgesses, the Assembly proceeded in conciliatory terms to suggest to "our very loving friend, Captain John Martin, Esquire, Master of the ordinance" that he yield these particular privileges. Martin, however, had read law; he was proud of being a first settler; and he declared that he "would not infringe" any part of his patent "which no new or later comer can merit or challenge." Here, then, was the first contest in America between legal or technical rights, on the one side, and a fundamental political principle of constitu-

tional government, on the other. Martin carried his case to the courts of the Virginia Company of London; and, in a measure, to the high court of the realm, the Privy Council.*

As an indication that the proceedings of our first legislature were tempered with a nice sense of distinction, it may be added that exception was likewise taken to seating the representatives of Ward's Plantation; for Captain Ward, with his fellow delegate, could have been excluded from the Assembly on technical grounds, because of "having planted here in Virginia without any authority or commission" from the Company; in short, Ward was the first American "squatter" of note. Having stated the technical objections to seating these two Burgesses, the Assembly immediately offered a basis for agreement, since Captain Ward "had been at so great charge and pains to augment this colony," not only by venturing his own person, but by helping with supplies. Consequently, the Assembly was content to "admit of him and his lieutenant into their society, provided that the said Captain Ward with all expedition should procure . . . a commission lawfully to establish and plant himself and his company, as the chiefs of other plantations have done."

The next order of business of the Assembly again concerned Captain Martin; and since the proceedings indicate the consideration the settlers wished to show the Indians, it is especially worthy of note. "Complaint" was formally entered against Martin, whose men, while trading in the Bay, had seized some corn against the will of the natives, albeit it was alleged that the crew of his shallop had, after seizing the corn, given "satisfaction in copper beads and other trucking stuff." Apparently Captain Martin was little concerned with the plans of conversion and "civilitie" proposed for the savages; but when he answered the summons of the Assembly to explain in person the alleged "outrage committed against a certeine Canoa of Indians," he replied that in this matter he would not stand upon his independence and rested

* Captain Martin was pre-eminent in the matter of securing special privileges. Secretary Rolfe, in writing his "memoranda" off 1617-18 had recorded: "If you grant more such Commissions for Gen'l trade as you have done to Capt. Martin you'll overthrow your magazine." In view of the endurance of the man as the longest-lived, and presumably the toughest-fibered of the first transplanted Englishmen, it is hard to understand why Captain Smith so persistently referred to him as a weakling!

"content to putt in security to the Governour for the good behaviour of his people towards the Indians."³

"These obstacles removed," the Speaker read the London Company's "orders and constitutions" for establishing the General Assembly, "wherein their duties were described to the life" under the terms of "the greate Charter." For convenience, Pory divided the body of the Charter into four parts, two of them for the immediate examination of two duly appointed committees, each composed of eight Burgesses. Thus ended the forenoon of Friday, July 30, the first day of the first assembly. "After dinner the Governor and those that were not of the Committees sat a second time"; and "it pleased the Governour for expedition sake" to examine "which of the instructions" might "putt on the habit of lawes." *

On Saturday, July 31, the second day of the session, the two special Committee groups made their reports and the Assembly proceeded to offer a series of six petitions to the mother Company of London. The first was a request that care be taken not to have grants to newcomers overlap or supersede those upon which the "ancient planters" had entered upon "after so much labour and coste." The second petition requested the Company to "sende men hither to occupie and cultivate public, and glebe lands." The third petition requested a clarification of the terms allowed the ancient planters as to their dividends of new land. The fourth petition requested the appointment of a "sub-treasurer" for the colony; but the said official was to be enjoined "not precisely according to the letter of the Charter to exacte mony of us (whereof we have none at all, as we have no minte) but the true value of the rente in comodity." The fifth petition besought the Company that, "towards the erecting of the University and Colledge, they will sende, when they shall thinke it most convenient, workmen of all sortes, fitt for that purpose." The sixth and last petition concerned the request to give the "Incorporation of Kiccowtan" a new name, (*supra*, p. 250).⁴

When the Assembly reconvened on Monday, August 2, con-

* *Records*, III, 159. In the account of proceedings, the word *committee* has a double meaning: *Committees* referred not only to the two groups of Burgesses, but also to individuals—and those Burgesses who had not been so appointed were called "Non-Committies."

siderable time was spent in argument with Captain Martin, who had come to Jamestown to discuss his patent and to answer the charge of having committed an "outrage" against the Indians. Martin refused to give up his patent, and the House decided to refer the matter to the Company in London with the request that "all grauntes . . . be made with equal favour," so "that clause towards the conclusion of the great charter" be not controverted.

Since sundry writers have referred to the military regulations of Marshal Dale as "legislation," when there was no legislature to legislate, it should be noted that the Assembly minutes present the following subtitle: "*Here begin the lawes drawn out of the Instructions given,*" etc.

The first such English law enacted on the North American continent sought to provide for friendly relations with the natives, with whom the colonists were to "inhabit the countrie." It reads:

By this present General Assembly be it enacted that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and ancient quarrells might be revived. And farther be it ordained that the Chicohomini are not to be excepted out of this lawe; until either that suche order come out of Englande or that they doe provoke us by some newe injury.

The final clause signified that even in the case of the Chickahominies, who had committed a recent murderous assault, the slate was now wiped clean and reprisals therefor were formally voided.⁵ The second law concerned the long-sought conversion of the Indians:

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, each town, city, Borough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life—of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them that from thence they may be sente to that worke of conversion.⁶

All freemen were granted the right to trade with the Indians, but trading in firearms was particularly prohibited under penalty

of death by hanging for the offender as a "Traytour to the Colony."

Laws governing ministers, church services, marriages, and observance of the Sabbath day were passed; and all ministers were to meet once a quarter "to determine whom it is fitt to excommunicate" for the "comission of enormous sinnes," although they should "first presente their opinion to the Governor ere they proceed to the act of excommunication."

"In detestation of idleness" it was enacted that if any one, even though free, "be found to live as an idler" he was to be taken up, assigned a master, and put to work for wages, "till he or she shewe apparant signes of amendment." The penalty for gaming at dice or cards provided that the "winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings, and both winners and losers shall forfeite ten shillings a man." The "discoverer" was rewarded and the rest of the forfeit was to go to "charitable and pious uses." Immorality was to be severely dealt with, and the law against drunkenness provided, for the first offense, private reproof by the minister, the second a public one, the third a fine and confinement "in the bolts," while an habitual offender was haled before the Governor and Council.

It is difficult to tell whether a sumptuary law against "excesse in apparell" was a measure for democratic levelling or quite the opposite. As previously stated, the highest ranked colonist from the social standpoint was Captain George Percy, who had received from his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, a considerable amount to pay for what must have been above the average grade of apparel. Perhaps distinctions such as this caused jealousy among the rank and file; on the other hand, Pory, while humorous about the matter of the former collier's wife appearing in flaming silk, might have been one of a number who thought it well to curb the masses in such display. "Excess" in personal adornment was not forbidden; but the wearer was to be assessed "in the church" if he be unmarried, "according to his owne apparel"; and if married, according to his own and that of his wife, or either. Since every one was required to attend church, it may be inferred that no one could well escape assessment. Furthermore, every man was required to attend church armed, since it

was recognized that unarmed gatherings would offer unexampled opportunities for Indian attack.

Several laws of more direct economic import were passed; and it should be noted that a considerable proportion of all the laws enacted were "such as may issue out of every man's private conceipt"; *i.e.*, laws that were conceived by the Burgesses themselves. Consequently, the planters could enact statutes on their own initiative rather than be governed altogether by instructions from the mother country.

The first measure of direct economic import concerned the effort to fix the price of tobacco. This involved a discussion that took up parts of two days. According to "instructions," the price for tobacco to be received by Mr. Abraham Piersey, head merchant, was set at three shillings the pound for the best, and eighteen pence for the "second sorte."⁷ An amendment provided for the rejection of leaf that was not properly aired or cured, which, if so found under official inspection, was to be "burned before the owner's face."

Possibly in order to please James I, or perhaps by royal demand, every planter was required to set out yearly and "maintain in growth six mulberry trees" at the least, and "as many more as he shall think conveniente and as his virtue and Industry shall move him to plante." Each planter was likewise ordered to put out one hundred silk-flax plants, also to make trial of English and Indian hemp, of aniseed, and of English flax. Looking to the establishment in Virginia of a wine supply, householders were required yearly to plant and maintain "ten vines untill they have attained to the art and experience of dressing a Vineyard either by their owne industry or the Instruction of some Vignerone."

Sundry laws were enacted regarding the relations of masters and indentured servants. One of these may well have had Captain Martin under consideration since it provided penalties against "inticing awaye the Tenants or Servants" (*supra*, p. 243 n.). A severe punishment was decreed against a servant of Burgess William Powell on charges of "impudently abusing his house" through wanton relations with a woman servant, of conspiracy with other servants against the planter's life, and of false accusa-

tions. According to English law, the man's life would have been forfeited, but the Assembly ordered him to be whipped publicly and his ears nailed to the pillory.

Burgess John Rolfe preferred charges of personal slander against Captain Martin, who was also accused by Rolfe of casting aspersions "upon the present government, which is the most temperate and juste that ever was in this country." The Burgesses referred the matter to the Council.

Since he had carried ill reports concerning Governor Yeardley to Opechancanough and had thereby "alienated the mind" of that werowance, the Burgesses felt that legally Captain Henry Spelman had forfeited his life; but since he had lived in the colony almost from the beginning, the matter occasioned much debate. Finally, it was determined that Spelman should be degraded from his captaincy and compelled to serve the colony seven years as interpreter.⁸

Since the principal method of communication was by water, boats had the value in the colony that horses came to have on the frontier in later days, when horse thieves suffered hanging. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that severe penalties were prescribed for boat stealing. "Whosoever shall take any of his neighbors' boats, oars, or canoes" was to be regarded "as a felon." Nevertheless, human life had a higher value in the colony than in England since we find it guarded by the stipulation that "anything under the value of 13d shall be accounted petty larceny," for which the death penalty could not be evoked, a limitation that provided loopholes for leniency. Juries could agree upon an arbitrary value of "twelve pence" and thus avoid the extreme penalty.

The suffering of Englishmen in midsummer heat is well illustrated by the following quotation from the close of the Assembly's address, after a five-day session from Friday through the following Wednesday:

In conclusion, the whole Assembly comaunded the Speaker (as nowe he doth) to present their humble excuse to the Treasurer, Counsell and Company in England for being constrained by the intemperature of the weather and the falling sick of diverse of the Burgesses to breake up so abruptly—before they had so much as putt their lawes to the ingrossing.⁹

More significant than the complaint about the weather was the ominous note about the sickness of "divers Burgesses." Pory, going through his first "summer sickness" was ill; and, on Sunday, August 1, we find the brief but eloquent notation: "Mr. Shelley, one of the Burgesses, deceased."

The final paragraph of the Assembly's address contained the plea that they be given "the power to allowe or disallowe" orders of the Company, as the Company had power to "allowe or reject our lawes," a point that the Company conceded in a precedent that might profitably have been heeded by king and Parliament in the eighteenth century.

In the curious combination of formality and what may be called chattiness with which the Secretary-Speaker reported the minutes, we find that when the committees had passed favorably upon the body of the Great Charter given out by the Company, Pory made a note of Governor Yeardley's "particular opinion to my selfe in private . . . that in these doubtfull times between us and the Indians, it would behoove us not to make as lardge distances between Plantation[s] as ten miles, but for our strength and security to drawe nearer together." The observation thus expressed by Yeardley was only too well grounded, as demonstrated less than three years later; but until the General Massacre, the Company in London continued to manifest a faith in the good will of the Indians that few of the older planters entertained.

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS

Under Sir George Yeardley, who was not merely an appointee of the Company but a planter of experience, the colonists began to take stock of themselves, the country, and their crops. With a governor and a legislature of their own, they now felt better able to make recommendations to the mother company in England. For one thing, they urged that the time of the departure of new settlers be so regulated that they would arrive in the fall or winter. In June, 1620, Secretary Pory put it emphatically: "Wee here are in our opinions absolutely *for the leafefall and the winter*, havinge found the springe and sommer both fatal and unprofitable to new Commers." Pory urged also that sick persons should not be taken

aboard ship in England, through whom contagion had not only affected the other passengers but the colonists already in Virginia. He added that, "A third matter of importance is the passage from England hither, upon the speedynes whereof the health of our people and many other Comodityes doe mainly depende." He recommended, therefore, that the mariners be urged to sail by Bermuda, rather than by the extreme southerly course or the one by the northern fishing banks.*

Under Sandys' leadership, the Company strove to strengthen the colony by encouraging immigration, partly to achieve the sooner one of the original aims of the adventurers; *viz.*, that of obtaining from the colony commodities which England was obliged to import from foreign countries. Shipping was engaged for maids to become wives of the planters; passage was likewise provided for orphans and other children, besides aliens who were supposedly skilled in the industries of European countries: "Dutch men" for sawmills; French and Italians for vineyards; silk culturists from southern France; and Poles for making pitch and tar, to say nothing of continuing plans to transport English artisans, many or most of whom soon preferred to raise crops rather than pursue their respective crafts.†

In a 1619 summary of "venturers" we find a total of 1261 persons, of whom the Company had equipped 871. Of these there were "sent for publicke and other pious uses" 210 tenants to till the lands of the Company and of the Governor; one hundred tenants for the College reservation and fifty for the various glebes or church lands. Ninety were "young maids to make wives for former tenants" now become free; and one hundred boys as "apprentices." In addition, there were fifty servants. "Passages" sent out in like fashion were cited by the Company in its "Declaration" of June, 1620, among whom were "one hundred young maids to make wives . . . as the former ninety."¹⁰ In 1621, the latter class

* In advocating the Bermuda route, Pory may have been subtly acting in the interest of Nathaniel Butler, Governor of Bermuda and a satellite of the Earl of Warwick. He also shrewdly ventured the observation that by taking the extreme northern course the "silkwormes which his Majesty had so graciously bestowed upon us" had altogether perished, as in the good ship *Diana*. On the other hand, the "extreme northern course" was the one favored by Sandys in order to save passage expense for prospective colonists.

† The term "Dutch men," also used by Smith, may have referred wholly to Germans from Hamburg. Cf. "Discourse of the Old Company," *op. cit.*, 435.

of volunteers were not available in sufficient numbers to meet the demand for them, the Company reporting passages for only a dozen prospective helpmates, one of whom was a widow; but fifty more were promised, and sent, the following fall.

Since those actively interested in the welfare of the colony were earnest churchmen, it was natural for them to consult with the bishops and the ministers of English parishes in the matter of providing helpmates for the settlers, who, they feared, would return to England as some had already done, after they had accumulated a sufficiency in Virginia. The pains thus taken were described by the Ferrars and others in a letter to Sir George Yeardley and the Council in Virginia (orthography modernized):

There hath not any one of them been received but upon good commendations, as by a note herewith sent, you may perceive. We pray you all therefore in general to take them into your care; and more especially we recommend them to you, Mr. Pountis, that at their first landing they may be housed, lodged, and provided for of diet till they be married; for such was the haste of sending them away, as that straitened with time we had no means to put provisions aboard, which defect shall be supplied by the magazine ship; and in case they cannot be presently married we desire they may be put to several householders that have wives till they can be provided of husbands.¹¹

The writers promised a shipment under the direction of the Earl of Southampton, adding that for the repayment of the passage charges the prospective husbands were to give 120 lbs. weight of "the best leaf tobacco for each of them, and in case any of them die that proportion must be advanced to make it up upon those that survive."¹² With respect to another shipment in the *Warwick* and the *Tiger*, the same group wrote:

We hope [they] shall be received with the same Christian piety and charity as they are sent from hence; the providing for them at their first landing, and disposing of them in marriage (which is our chief intent) we leave to your care and wisdom to take that order as may most conduce to their good, and satisfaction of the adventurers for the charges disbursed in setting them forth, which, coming to twelve pounds and upwards, they require one hundred and fifty of the best leaf tobacco for each of them.

That each young woman thus sent over was free to take a husband of her choice, or even remain single if she preferred, is indicated by the following:

If any of them shall unwarily or fondly bestow herself (for the liberty of marriage we dare not infringe) upon such as shall not be able to give present satisfaction; we desire that at least as soon as ability shall be they be compelled to pay the true quantity of tobacco proportioned, and that this debt may have precedence of all others to be recovered; for the rest, which we hope will not be many, we desire your best furtherance for providing them fitting services, till they may happen upon good matches.¹³

Besides the thrills that these venturesome maids may have had with respect to the vastness of the voyage and the prospective gamble on husbands married after brief acquaintance, additional excitement was provided for those on board the 40-ton *Tiger*; for, having been separated from the 160-ton *Warwick*, the pinnacle was overtaken by the Turks. By rare good fortune they were saved from Moslem slavery by the accidental appearance of another ship, although those on the *Tiger* had already been robbed of "most of the victuals, and all of their serviceable sails, tackling, and anchors."¹⁴

At this time a plan largely actuated by humanitarian intent was proposed with the view of taking off the streets orphaned or out-cast children and sending them to Virginia where they would be given homes and opportunity for earning a livelihood. In January, 1619, a ship sailed from London with about fifty of these waifs on board, who arrived in Virginia in the spring of a year that was replete with events of importance in the history of the colony.*

In order to relieve the government, and possibly to embarrass the Company, James I insisted that the Company should ship to Virginia a number of prisoners accused or convicted of crime or misdemeanors. The records indicate that at least some of these "convicts" were the victims of harsh laws, especially those consigned to jail for debt. By way of illustration, the king, in April,

* Since they arrived on the *Duty*, the records refer to them as the "Duty boys." This seems to have caused confusion in the minds of some commentators, which might have been worse confounded, perhaps, had the young women who came in the *Tiger* been known as the "Tiger maids."

1619, sent a special message to the Company demanding that a man "suspected [sic] for Deere stealing" be "transported for Virginia; and understanding that Mr. John Ferrar had a shipp shortly to goe thither," Secretary Calvert "desired that his Majesties resolution might be fulfilled therein."¹⁵ The long-current story of William Shakespeare's youthful poaching on the preserves of Sir Thomas Luce suggests the thought that if he had been convicted, the future dramatist would himself have been subject to transportation, since it was for just such offenses that young men were sent to jail, or, in some cases, hanged.*

The minutes of the Virginia Court for November 17, 1619, show that Sandys had been in conference with his Majesty's Secretary, Sir George Calvert, to deliver the Company's answer "touching the Transporting" of one hundred persons. The hesitation of the Company "gave nott full satisfaction for that the Kings desyre admitted no delaies butt forthwith to have 50 of the 100 shipt away with all speed."¹⁶ Under the circumstances, it seems fair to assume that some of them were not undesirable as servants or tenants on the public lands, since they might have been mere dissenters or persons imprisoned for debt. Here again the Company leaders fell upon trouble through no fault of their own; for they were compelled to maintain these prisoners until shipping could be provided for them, although eventually the Bermuda Islands Company was persuaded to share transportation costs and reception. With respect to such shipments, examination of the Acts of the Privy Council indicates that prior to November, 1618, Sir Thomas Smith had stood surety that upon their release certain prisoners would be shipped to Virginia for employment in the colony. Under the Sandys-Southampton management, all such applications for transportation were judged on their respective merits. There was, for example, the case of one John Carter, whose guilt was admittedly in doubt. Again, one of the Acts of the Privy Council concerned the "staying from execution the person of James Wharton," who had received sentence at Norwich for "drawing of a purse." He was ordered sent to Virginia, as four

* For an excellent summary of the alleged evidence, see Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1940), pp. 14-17. See also "Shakespeare Himself," by Oscar James Campbell in *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1940, p. 175.

justices of the peace certified "that the said Wharton was not attainted by any wilfull murther, rape, witchcraft, robbery by the highway, robbing of house or burglary,"—an enumeration which seems to have become a required formula.¹⁷

SEPARATISTS AND WALLOONS WELCOMED

As the liberal policies of the Virginia-London Company became known, two homogeneous groups applied to the Company for license to settle in Virginia. As it turned out, both groups came to America, and their places of settlement became known respectively as New England and New York. But for lack of funds, there seems little doubt that the Company would have financed the first of these groups, subsequently known as the "Pilgrim Fathers" in their proposal to repatriate themselves under the English flag. Sir Edwin Sandys was wholly sympathetic and expressed the hope that the exiled Englishmen would take up their abode in Virginia, with no restrictions except such as they would put upon themselves, one of which was that their settlement might be at some distance from the settlements already established so that they would not be subject to interference by the established church.*

This migration to America had reasons therefor which were not unlike those that actuated the establishment of the first colony. Primarily, there were assigned, in both cases, religious objectives, without which, it may be said, neither settlement would have been begun or maintained. In both instances, also, economic causes played an important role. In the case of these exiles, it was recorded that they sought a haven in the New World in order to better their condition, which, in a material sense, was hard. With respect to the prospects in America there arose an extended debate as to settlement in Guiana or Virginia. Happily for the further development of North America, Virginia was chosen; although with respect to the economic argument, "Those for Guiana alledged that the cuntrie was rich, fruitful, & blessed with a perpetual spring, and a flourishing greenness: where vigorous nature

* In the eyes of James I these dissenters were "undesirables," and, had they remained in England, some at least would have been jailed and possibly released separately for transportation overseas.

brought forth all things in abundance & plentie without any great labour or art of man. So it must needs make the inhabitants rich.”¹⁸ Finally, there was the fear of war with Spain, since the Dutch truce with that country was about to expire.

In the debate carried on by Pastor John Robinson’s congregation with respect to their destination, “It was objected” that “if they lived among the English which wear there planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England . . . at length the conclusion was, to live as a distincte body by them selves, under the generall Government of Virginia.”

Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent to England “to sollicite this matter, who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them goe thither, and willing to grante them a patent, with as ample privileges as they had, or could grant to any, and to give them the best furdurance they could.”¹⁹ Sandys, in particular, encouraged the exiles to settle in Virginia; for as early as November 12, 1617, he wrote to Pastor John Robinson and Elder William Brewster:

If therefore it may please God so to directe your desires as that on your parts ther fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear, that on our parte, all forwardnes to set you forward shall be found in the best sorte which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this designe (which I hope verily is the worke of God), to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.²⁰

The endorsement of the Virginia-London Company was not immediately sufficient. The exiles had to secure the sanction of the king, and the story of their plea to James I is worth repeating. After the emissaries of the exiles had advanced religious and patriotic arguments: *viz.*, the spread of the Gospel among the heathen and the extension of the realm, James inquired how they meant to live. Fortunately they replied, “by fishing,” thus giving the royal theologian an opportunity for the rejoinder that it was “an honest trade” and the “Apostles’ own calling.” The king,

with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, agreed that the people whom James had delighted to "harry out" of England might settle in the Virginia colony. Although it was said they could not expect any formal assurance of toleration, their proceedings would be connived at if they caused no public disturbance. It was only after two years of negotiations, however, that a group of the exiles were able to set sail with a view to repatriation within the bounds of the Virginia-London Company patent at a considerable but indefinite distance from the settlements already established.*

With respect to the second homogeneous group of would-be settlers in Virginia, James I inquired of the London Company officials as to their wishes "concerning certain Articles putt up by some Walloones and Frenchmen desirous to goe to Virginia." In this instance it was recognized that the admission of a considerable foreign element had its dangers; and the reply to James I, signed by John Ferrar, stated that the Walloons and French would be welcome to the extent of sixty families, not to exceed three hundred persons—all they asked—provided they took the oath of allegiance as English subjects; in fine, if they became naturalized citizens under the English flag in Virginia. It was stipulated, however, that they were not to settle there as a group, but that they should be distributed by families in the several Virginia boroughs. Furthermore, the reply made through Secretary Calvert stated that because of the depleted state of the treasury of the Company, it would behoove the prospective colonists to provide their own transportation and maintenance.†

* Historians have credited favorable interposition to Secretary Naunton, whose friendly attitude towards the Separatists is presented in Winslow's "Brief Narrative." As Winslow expressed it (*cf.* Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, Boston, 1844) the Separatist emissaries "found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living, to stir in it, who procured Sir Robert Naunton, then Principal Secretary of State to King James, of famous memory, to move his Majesty." Since, however, Sandys was increasingly in disfavor with the king, the author has ventured the view that Sir George Calvert had somewhat to do with the matter, since the negotiations for migration were lagging until Calvert succeeded to the secretaryship. For Lord Baltimore's broad tolerance and his active interest in American colonization see Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland*, p. 22 *et seq.*

† For the story of the Walloon emigration to America see Henry G. Bayer, *The Belgians, First Settlers in New York and in the Middle States* (New York, 1925).

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

The leaders of the Virginia-London Company entertained two major visions that were complementary to their expectations as to the extension of Christianity, the expansion of the realm, and a mutually profitable exchange of raw materials and manufactured products. In short, they had in view not only a definite system of colonial self-government but also a complementary plan for colonial education, which was intended for both Indian and English youth as an important part of the process of bringing the savages to "civilitie."

Because of royal opposition, the liberal majority could not advertise their purpose to introduce representative institutions in America (*supra*, p. 115); on the other hand, they could, and did, publicly and freely discuss the educational plans out of which should flow the religious and civil redemption of the aborigines, with whom the English were to "inhabit" the land in mutually beneficial adjustments. Consequently, we find frequent references to the proposed establishment of schools and a college in Virginia.

By 1619, the first General Assembly in Virginia regarded the college as a thing assured. The land had been set aside, money had been contributed for buildings and instructors, with the "deputy" or manager acting as the precursor of the rector, instructors, and students. In contradistinction to his attitude toward the creation of a colonial parliament, James I did not immediately perceive, in this plan for the conversion and education of the infidels, evidences of a threat to monarchical absolutism; hence, he was quite willing, as the official head of the church, to recommend it to the Anglican clergy throughout the realm.

We find so many contemporary references to various phases of this ideal of the London-Virginia Company that it is difficult to condense the story of the gradual growth of the plan, together with the changes designed to make it adaptable in Virginia. For example, the London Company was slow to recognize the apparently obvious fact that the savages were wholly lacking in background or the inheritance of any kind of culture which would enable them to assimilate the teachings they were expected to spread among their own people. On the other hand, the colonists

had already recognized the fact that the quiyoughquisucks, or native priests, maintained such a firm hold upon the superstitions of their people that the only hope for a general salvation was to remove Indian boys from such influences. On their part, it was perfectly natural for the quiyoughquisucks to try to check a plan designed ultimately to bring about their own abolition; hence it is, therefore, not unlikely that the "General Massacre" was promoted by their machinations, hastened by the known preparations for building the schools and the college.

As in the case of the creation of the General Assembly, we must look to England and the London Company for the beginning of the school-and-college plan. It will be recalled that the instructions given to Sir Thomas Gates in 1609 had suggested the segregation of a few Indian children and educating the same either in the colony or in England; but, as in the case of corporate colonization, the plan for education had first to secure the approval of the king. Here, again, a subtle approach to his Majesty must be considered. Consequently, a plea was made to the monarch as the head of the Anglican Church; and during 1617, about the time of the visit of Pocahontas, he issued a call for voluntary contributions four times a year over a period of two years.²¹

In 1618, Argall asserted he "had provided sundry stuff for the College" in the Dale-founded borough named after the now-deceased Prince Henry. It appears, however, that Argall raided the college property rather than aided it. In any event, the funds reported on hand in 1619, at the beginning of Yeardley's administration, were not sufficient for immediate building; although Sandys, in referring to the king's letters to the clergy, had reported subscriptions to the amount of approximately \$40,000 in present currency. Thereupon the Company determined to send over fifty smiths, carpenters, turners, potters, husbandmen, bricklayers, and brick makers to work upon the college land, the same to have "halfe the benefit of their Labour and the other halfe to goe in setting forward the worke, and for mayntenance of the Tutors and Schollers."²² At the following June Court those present felt that since the business was of such importance, it being not only the concern of the Company but also of the realm, the modern equivalent of a board of trustees should be appointed. Sir Edwin

Sandys moved, therefore, that the Court "appoint a Committee of choice gentlemen." Accordingly there were nominated the Right Worshipful Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Danvers, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir John Wolstenholme, Mr. John Ferrar, Dr. Francis Anthony, and Dr. Theodore Gulstone. To this committee of seven, Mr. John Wroth was subsequently added as "Assistant," as it was "conceived by some error" he had been left out.

Recognition of the importance of this educational plan is further emphasized by the resources allotted for its support. The Company Court of November, 1619, referred specifically to the grant made the preceding year of 3000 acres of Company land, scattered in the four boroughs, and the 10,000 acres "for the university to be planted at Henrico; of which 1000 acres for the colledge for the conversion of Infidels."²³ But even these liberal allowances by the Company fail to show the extent of the college property. There were college lands in other boroughs, since in the summary of titles reported by Governor Wyatt in 1625, he referred to the 10,000 acres above mentioned as well as to other property that had been allotted.

Captain William Weldon, who was sent over in 1619 to be overseer, or "commander," of the tenants and lands of the college, had difficulties from the beginning, partly due to his inexperience in the new country, and partly because he fell upon Argall's corrupt trail where the latter had on his own authority granted desirable portions of the college lands to others; for example, on March 6, 1620 (N. S.), Weldon wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys:

The land appointed for the College is from Henrico to the falls, of which I may say with David her lot is fallen to her in a fair ground. She hath a goodly heritage being as pleasant and fruitful a soil as any this land yeildeth. But one of the best seats is already planted by Captain Mathews for the use of Sir Thomas Middleton and Alderman Johnson and another challenged by Thomas Dows by a grant from Captain Argoll, one of them being now ready for the plow and the other most convenient for pasture, both of them near the place of my plantation and most fitting for my present use. The Governor, whom I have found a noble favorer and furtherer of this business, hath given them both warning to depart and take ground elsewhere, which they have hetherto forborne to do trusting that the company will confirm

Captain Argoll his grant which I hope you will forbear to do in regard these two seats are the most convenient and likely to prove the most beneficial for the present use of the College.²⁴

Weldon seems to have been unsuccessful in getting the tenants on the College property to provide sufficient revenue; but some of the blame may be laid upon the inability of the mother Company to understand the difference between tenants in England—where they were perforce content with their lot—and the same type transported to Virginia, where they were surrounded by small and great farmers who were their own masters. Sandys had disapproved of tobacco raising on college property, but overseer Weldon soon found he had the equivalent of a strike on his hands until he allowed the tenants to plant for themselves some portion of the land in Virginia's most profitable crop.

In the spring of 1620 the Company sent out George Thorpe, an earnest, scholarly man of excellent background. Thorpe had been a gentleman of the king's chamber and a member of Parliament from Portsmouth. He was also a member of the Council of the Virginia-London Company; and besides subscribing the modern equivalent of six hundred and fifty dollars to the Company's stock, he had in England undertaken the education of an Indian youth. He held fast to the theory of the liberal leaders that the Indians could be converted and civilized; and we may hope that his death in the General Massacre was too sudden for him to realize how his faith in the natives was betrayed. Thorpe acted as "deputy" for the Company in the matter of the college property, and he may be regarded as the prototype and predecessor of a long line of English-speaking teacher-missionaries.

Besides the endowment fund raised by popular subscription throughout England for the support of the college, an incidental connection was made with the distant East; for in Asian waters the grimly earnest old soldier, Sir Thomas Dale, had talked to the Reverend Patrick Copeland about converting and civilizing the American savages. Copeland was chaplain of the *Royal James* of the East India fleet of which the former deputy governor of Virginia was then commander; consequently, while at the Cape of Good Hope, as the *Royal James* was on its return voyage, the

minister spoke or preached so forcefully on the higher aims of colonization in Virginia that the passengers and mariners contributed towards the cause the equivalent of some seventeen hundred dollars.*

The *Royal James* reached London in the autumn of 1621; and since the money had been subscribed towards the building of either a church or a school, the Company decided upon the latter. Because of the origin of its first endowment, it received the curious, yet appropriate, name of the "East India school in Virginia," which was to be built in the Charles City borough, as a more accessible location than what was then regarded as the far western site of Henrico College. In addition, "gentlemen and mariners" returning from East India on board the *Hart* and the *Roe-Bucke* likewise "gave towards the building of the aforesaid Free-schoole in Virginia."²⁵

In England there were many other gifts, both for the school and the college, such was the appeal of this twice pious effort on behalf of religion and education. Very soon what may be regarded as the first school board concerned with American education felt called upon not only to consider the qualifications and training of prospective teachers but also to select appropriate text-books, whereupon one John Brinsley, subsequently a Puritan minister, prepared a small volume entitled, in part, *Consolation for our Grammar schooles*. This was recommended by himself as being adapted "for all functions and places," but especially "for the more speedie attaining of our English tongue." A committee was appointed to review and report on this the first text-book offered for American schools. With respect to the equipment of the first master, a Mr. Dike, the Company agreed to furnish books both for him and for the children under his charge. Incidentally, Mr. Dike, if selected, was to be examined by a committee as to methods of teaching "and the books he intends to instruct the children by."²⁶

The Company had already set aside a thousand acres for the support of the "East India" school, and one of the most liberal

* On the death of Sir Thomas Dale, Captain Martin Pring, who had himself surveyed much of the coast of the "continent of Virginia," succeeded to the command. Cf. Brown, *First Republic*, 442.

contributors to the cause of education was an anonymous donor, who signed his letters "Dust and Ashes." He gave £550 in gold coins and promised a total of one thousand in the expectation that "both English and Virginians may be taught together"—"Virginians" being a term frequently applied to the Indians. Besides donations in money, sundry persons presented valuable books to be "sent to the Colledge in Virginia there to remain in safftie to the use of the Collegiates hereafter."

At a meeting in the London house of Sir Edwin Sandys, April 9, 1620, announcement was made of the first bequest for an American institution of higher learning. This was provided in the will of Nicholas Ferrar the elder, the amount being approximately \$10,000, the same to be paid unto Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. John Ferrar at such time as ten of the said infidels' children shall be placed in the Virginia college.

The specifications for this colonial system declared that "Such of the children" as were found "capable of learning shall be put in the college and brought up to be Fellows; and such as are not shall be put to trades and be brought up in the fear of God and [in] the Christian religion."

With the site selected, a considerable endowment assured, a manager-executive with a hundred workmen and farm tenants sent over, it remained to select a president for the college.* Already the Reverend Patrick Copeland had been made an honorary member of the Virginia-London Company, and it seemed to all concerned that no better choice could be found. Consequently, in July, 1622, he was elected "rector" or president, and an agreement was entered into with respect to his duties and remuneration. Hardly had these arrangements been completed, however, before London was resounding with the news of the General Massacre; and the pious pseudonym of the principal benefactor of colonial education was prophetic of the college plan, which had indeed been reduced to "dust and ashes." For some time thereafter, efforts were made in Virginia to salvage the general objective, but with

* George Thorpe had written in great enthusiasm about his having set out "near ten thousand" vines on the lands of the college with a view to increasing the revenue for its support.—Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, May, 1621, *Records*, III, 446-447.

the dissolution of the London-Virginia Company, the college plan was not successfully revived until Williamsburg became the colonial capital.²⁷

After the massacre Copeland left England and took up ministerial work in the Bermudas, where he advocated complete toleration, or freedom of conscience, in matters of religion. While his friend, Nicholas Ferrar the younger, loved the ritual of the Anglican church and retired to *Little Gidding* in order to practise it, Copeland pursued an opposite course toward simplification, ultimately taking up residence in a small island in the Bahamas in order to carry out his ideas of freedom without interference from the Established Church. Later, when the Puritans in Virginia were pursued by the unpopular and intolerant Berkeley, Copeland offered them a haven in the Bahamas; but the invitation from the equally tolerant Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore, to settle in nearby Maryland made the stronger appeal. While Ferrar held no responsible position in the Established Church, his attitude is reminiscent of that of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes, whom he probably knew and of whom it was said that while he "enjoyed" much ceremonial, he did not "enjoin" it upon others.

INCREASE IN IMMIGRATION

The period beginning with Sir Edwin Sandys' presidency of the Virginia-London Company was marked by greatly increased immigration. Undoubtedly a proportion of those so transported were undesirables, even as tenants or servants. Partly because of contemporary emphasis, this element has received undue attention at the hands of later writers. By way of illustration, one annalist has observed that after 1620, "There were two distinct waves of immigration, the educated and religious preferring the Northern, because King James had made the Southern a penal colony," adding that for "generation after generation the illiterate and unruly continued to be transported to Virginia."²⁸ Similar impressions are presented by more recent writers, who have quoted, without benefit of explanation, a seventeenth-century pamphlet which declared that England was ridding the land of "swarms of idle persons which, having no means of labor to relieve their misery, do like-

wise swarm in lewd and naughty practices, so that if we seek not some ways for their foreign employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions. It is no new thing but most profitable for our state, to rid our multitudes of such as lie at home pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting one another with vice and villainy worse than the plague itself." *

Sweeping conclusions, based on such sources, are no more convincing than Captain John Smith's animadversions upon the London-Virginia Company in general and his associates at Jamestown in particular. Comparisons are often highly instructive; hence, we may better understand the case of the Virginia colony through the comment of Governor Bradford upon conditions in the Plymouth settlement. "It may," he wrote, "be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land." In answer to his own question, the chronicler gave the following reasons for the allegedly poor character of the immigrants; first, that:

In a wilderness, in which much labor and service was to be done about building and planting, &c., such as wanted to help in that respect, when they could not have such as they would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and women kind.

Another and a main reason hereof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some began to make a trade of it, to transport passengers and their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profit, cared not who the persons were, so they had money to pay

* Quoted by Faulkner and Kepner, in a school text-book, *America, Its History and People* (New York, 1938), p. 15. Cf. Force's *Tracts (Nova Britannia)*, I, No. 6, p. 19.

An interesting variation of this interpretation is presented in Professor Charles M. Andrews' *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1934), Volume I, page 100:

"The Puritan explanation of the failure of these early efforts at colonization rests on the belief that the former promoters committed three 'great and fundamentall errors': the main end was carnal not religious; the first promoters employed unfit instruments—a multitude of rude and misgoverned persons, the very scum of the land; and the failure to establish a right form of government."

While the quotation is taken from a sharply partisan, or anti-Anglican, source in the "Winthrop Papers, II, 143," publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1931, Professor Andrews apparently endorses this conclusion in stating that the "Puritans were right in their estimate."

them. And by this means the country became pestered with many unworthy persons. . . . And thus, by one means or other, in 20 years time, it is a question whether the greater part be not grown the worser.²⁹

Governor Bradford thus condemned a possible majority of the Plymouth Colony as undesirables; and if we pursue only those pages of his history of the Plymouth Plantation that set forth these unpleasant developments, we might readily arrive at conclusions about the second colony similar to those cast up in the case of its predecessor. Bradford refers to the prevalence of immoralities which he declared were "fearful even to name"; yet, with regard to both colonies, we properly conclude that the bad must have been greatly overstressed by contemporary annalists—unless we accept the alternative that ill trees bring forth fine fruit, or diseased seedlings produce sound plants.*

THE NAMING OF "NEW ENGLAND"

As the liberal leaders and policies of the London Company were increasingly incurring the displeasure of James I, Sir Ferdinando Gorges seized an occasion to provoke a legalistic clash over fishing rights in the New World at the time Sandys was encouraging voyages by the northern route. This Sandys did in an endeavor to save expense; for when he found that vessels headed for the fishing banks went out empty, he contracted with their captains to transport emigrants for Virginia at less than half the former cost per passenger.

At a meeting of the London Company Court, December 1, 1619, the president reported that John Delbridge, in planning to "settle a particular colony in southern Virginia," had sought license to fish at Cape Cod. Sir Ferdinando Gorges thereupon objected on the ground that Delbridge should "sue" not to the London Company but to him as representing the Plymouth Company. To this Sandys replied "that the company of the South and North Planta-

* Governor Bradford gave us "one reason" for these corruptions "that the Divell may carrie a greater spite against the Churches of Christ and the gospell here, by how much the more they indeavour to preserve holyynes"; in fine, that the devil worked the harder where he found the opposition keenest. *Ibid.*, p. 459, *et seq.*

tions are the one free of the other, and that the letters patent is clear that each may fish within the other, the sea being free for both. Which if the Northern Colony abridge," the colony already planted would be deprived of the "means and encouragement of sending of men." Thereupon, Gorges applied for a new patent, which was presented to the Privy Council in March, 1620. The king's councillors regarded the matter with favor and a charter soon passed the seal on behalf of a newly constituted group, who were given a grant between the parallels forty to forty-eight extending "from sea to sea." By "request," the territory was definitely named "New England."*

In so doing, the Privy Council established the first formal³⁰ delimitation of the continental domain of Virginia; although it may be said that in some indefinite fashion the region above the St. Lawrence had been tacitly conceded to the French. The fact that the southwestern sweep of the St. Lawrence overlapped some of the area between the parallels mentioned may not have occurred to the councillors; or, if it did, they probably held that any conflict of claims in that distant wilderness could be handled later.†

Meantime the Privy Council had granted permission to both colonies or plantations to "fish at sea within the limits and bounds of each other reciprocally"; but "with this limitation, that it be only for the sustentation of the people of the colonies there, and for the transportation of people into either colony."

NEGRO IMMIGRANTS

In January, 1620, John Rolfe addressed a letter of some two thousand words to Sir Edwin Sandys, wherein appears the follow-

* The fixing of this nomenclature as an official act was duly noted by the contemporary chronicler, Samuel Purchas, as follows: "The North Plantation . . . hath been dignified with the title of New England." Cf. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XIX, 227.

† Incidentally, Gorges had taken care to interest the lords of the Privy Council as "patentees and councillors for the managing of the business, by whose favors," he frankly declared, "I had the easier passage" in the obtaining of his Majesty's signature; and James I doubtless welcomed this procedure as affording an excellent opportunity to put a check on the London Company. Since the Pilgrim Fathers landed some days after this patent was issued, their connection with the Virginia-London Company was automatically terminated, although in signing their "Compact" they thought Plymouth was still in the "Notherne parts of Virginia."

ing statement: "About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of war of the burden of 160 tons arrived at Point Comfort." The captain, continued Rolfe, "brought not any thing but twenty and odd Negroes, which the Governor and Cape Merchant bought in return for victual."³¹ Until recently, this incident has been universally interpreted as marking the beginning of Negro slavery in the English colonies. On the contrary, original documents preserved in Northampton County show that these Negroes were indentured on the same basis as were English servants, whose terms of service ran from two to eight years. The Northampton records not only mention some of these Negroes by name but also show that they became free after completing their terms of service. Hence, it is pertinent to observe that the terms *bought* and *sold*, as used in this period, have been misinterpreted, since these verbs frequently referred to the sale and purchase of the services of the indentured individual, and not of his person. This word *slavery* has been similarly misinterpreted. That it did not always mean what it later came to signify is shown, for example, in the penalty imposed in Argall's proclamation on June 17, 1617, before the arrival of the first Negroes, wherein a man was sentenced to "three years' slavery to the colony," and in the proclamation of May 10, 1618, where for failure "to go to Church Sundays & holi-daies" the offender would "be a slave the week following."*

Despite this long-prevalent misinterpretation of colonial phraseology it seems relevant at this point to note contrasting opinions as to the significance of these first arrivals. Some, for example, have expressed the view that the importation of the Negro was a good thing in that it greatly improved the African's status, and that the Negro became a valuable asset to America in enabling the southern colonies to attain an agricultural development not otherwise possible, due to the African's comparative immunity to the then mysterious fevers of the lowlands; and, furthermore, that the lack

* Cf. *Records*, III, 69-70, 93. For an illuminating dissertation on this subject, see John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865*, *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXXI (Baltimore, 1913), No. 3, pp. 32-33, 93. Dr. Russell shows where one Negro, having obtained his freedom, became an independent planter and indentured a Negro servant whom he held past the term of his indenture, so that white persons took legal steps to set the second Negro free.

of this expansion would have retarded the growth of Anglo-America as a whole. Others, on the contrary, have regarded the advent of the Negro as a portent of trouble, bringing in its train ills immeasurable. Subsequently, when the importation of Negroes represented a regular traffic, the Virginians made frequent protests to the British government which, however, forced its continuance upon the colony.

Since it is now recognized that the Earl of Warwick owned or controlled the ships that seized these first Negroes, the so-called "Dutch man of War" that "sold" its captured Negroes was actually the English-owned consort of Warwick's piratical craft, the *Treasurer*. Both vessels had been roving the Spanish Main engaged in seizing Spanish property; and Warwick evidently anticipated making Virginia a base for just such operations—with the expected or promised connivance of Argall, who was deputy governor when the ships set out. Before the vessels returned, however, Argall had been supplanted by Yeardley with orders from the London Company for the former's arrest; consequently, the *Treasurer* was obliged to unload its cargo in Bermuda, where Governor Nathaniel Butler, afterwards a severe critic of both the colony and the Company, was amenable to Warwick's scheme.*

Over and above the importation of the twenty Negroes brought in by the *Treasurer* and indentured in the colony in 1619, the early records show the appearance of a few others, whether they stayed in the colony or not. At the court held November 30, 1624, "John Phillip, a Negro Christened in England 12 years since," gave testimony with regard to the operations of Master Simon Tutchin, with respect to his expulsion from the colony (*supra*, p. 182). In the following year, another Negro was reported as coming in with Captain Jones. He was placed in the service of Lady Yeardley "till further order be taken for him," and it was provided that "he shall be allowed by the Lady Yeardley monthly for his labor forty pound weight of good merchantable tobacco."³²

* In Bermuda, dubious dealings occurred with respect to the landing of some of the captured Negroes. Since Warwick had purchased commissions from the Duke of Savoy, in order to give his piratical acts an appearance of legality, the "Dutch man of War" phrase was a euphemistic cover-up for a ship equipped by Warwick and his associates. In short, it appears that the ship was neither "Dutch" nor a "man of war."

WARWICK-ARGALL PLOTS

Rolfe addressed sundry letters to Sandys; and although he must be given the doubtful credit of attempting, in some particulars, to defend Argall, to whom it seems he was under obligations, one of his letters affords additional evidence that the Warwick-Argall plans were endangering the peace of the colony. In short, Rolfe reported that the *Treasurer* followed her consort into the Bay, anchoring off Kecoughtan. Her captain insisted he too lacked victuals. The Virginians, however, refused to deal with him; and when Governor Yeardley sent for the *Treasurer* to "come up to James City" her captain, possibly forewarned of arrest, left before the summons arrived.

Though Yeardley could ill afford incurring the enmity of Warwick, he pursued his duty towards the colony in endeavoring to thwart the Earl. Learning, however, of the hostility of Sir Thomas Smith, he sought to resign his office. Thereupon Sandys addressed an illuminating letter to Southampton in which he asked the latter's advice as to "Sir George Yeardley" who "having taken exceeding pains for the settling all matters in order in Virginia . . . hath suddenly fallen into a violent resolution of quitting his place." Yeardley's move, Sandys declared, was grounded upon the error of believing Smith was still president of the Company, with Alderman Robert Johnson as his deputy, and that he feared "their malignity." Sandys further testified that Smith had felt aggrieved over the knighting of Captain Yeardley, "alleging that it was done contrary to his pleasure"—a remarkable instance of personal jealousy or pique, or perhaps an indication that Smith regarded himself as a dispenser of royal favors. Sandys had moved to effect a "reconciliation," and conceived he had done so "before Sir George's departure" for Virginia, "thinking it very unfit that the treasurer [president] of the Company and the Governor of the colonie should be at variance." Apparently, the breach had been healed by Sandys' good offices, but Smith had again vented his spleen by "taking advantage" of a motion made against Sir George "by a noble person" in connection with criticisms or complaints made by Argall. "And this," wrote Sir Edwin, was done "against a man

to whom they had professed friendship, who was chosen by themselves, and sent by them (in great part at his own private charges) to so difficult a service. The report hereof coming, as doth now appear, to Sir G. Yeardley (for his own brother was present) hath bred in him this discontent and hasty resolution not to serve under his control, whose hatred, though causeless, was so strong as to break through the new bounds of a public reconciliation.”³³

It will be noted that Sandys referred to Yeardley's going to Virginia partly at the latter's own expense; and an interesting circumstance concerning the first governor to preside over the Virginia Assembly lies in his willingness to serve without salary; so that, in this respect, he may be considered the prototype of George Washington as commander-in-chief of the Continental armies. Yeardley perceived Virginia's great need for leadership after the colony had been plundered by Argall; so he, like Washington as commander-in-chief, gave his services gratis; and it is also worth noting that he was as ready as Washington to resign his office for private life. However, at the urgent solicitations of the statesmen at the head of the London Company, Yeardley was persuaded to serve out his three-year term, after which he retired to his plantation, to reappear when his country needed him as commander against the Indians after the General Massacre; and again as “Governor and Captain General” four years later.*

As late as 1898, Alexander Brown, ferreter extraordinary of early Virginia documents, complained that he had been able to find but a fragmentary reference to a suit instituted by the Earl of Warwick against Edward Brewster of Virginia “concerning the ships ‘Treasurer’ and ‘Neptune.’” Recently another item relating to this suit has been found. The document is mutilated, but enough remained to show that Warwick declared the *Treasurer* was Argall's property, “to be employed by him as he should appoint or direct,” and that even if it were shown that the vessel were merely equipped by the Earl, it was done “for the behoof of the foresaid Captain Argall.”³⁴ These fragments offer evidence

* Cf. *Records*, III, 302, *passim*. Yeardley left a daughter and two sons, from whom a very considerable number of Americans trace descent.

of Warwick's desire to escape blame for the *Treasurer's* "piracy"; and we find here that Captain Spelman was on board the vessel, which suggests additional evidence of Spelman's relations with Argall and Warwick in the attempt to discredit Governor Yeardley with the Indians, for which Spelman was sentenced to seven years' "slavery" to the colony.*

While Spelman may have been misled by a sense of loyalty to Argall, we have definite references to one Robert Poole, whose record appears fully capable of sustaining the charge of being a traitor against the colony. The revelation of the part played by Poole came about through a semi-official visit of John Rolfe to his uncle-in-law, Opechancanough.

In the fall of 1619, Governor Yeardley had taken special note of the increasingly hostile attitude of the Indians, especially as he considered the "many straggling plantations, weakened by the great mortality" of that summer. Consequently, he had requested John Rolfe and Captain William Powell to call upon Opechancanough, especially as the werowance had previously professed "much love" for his English in-law. Yeardley sent messengers in a "ship and frigate" to announce the approaching visit, which apparent show of force, being reminiscent of earlier events before the Pocahontas peace, so alarmed the savages that when Rolfe and Powell arrived simultaneously in their shallop their reception was described as "harsh." It was then discovered how Poole had played false with both sides. As Rolfe observed, he had "even turned heathen"; and Spelman, being with the party as interpreter, doubtless derived some degree of satisfaction from exposing Poole's duplicity. After mutual explanations, the English were "sent away lovingly," Poole being "accused and condemned" by the savages as "an instrument that sought all the means he could to break our league." After the "matchacomoco," or conference, Rolfe refused to see Poole, alleging "an ague"; and he closed the story of the visit as follows (orthography modernized):

* In sharp contrast to Delaware, Gates, and Dale, Yeardley was, like Admiral Newport, given to leniency in an age of harsh punishments. Evidently, he was also a believer in the reformation of youth. Rolfe had referred to this tendency in the pardoning of William Epps; and Rolfe records Yeardley's action with respect to Spelman as follows: "But the Governor, hoping he might redeem his faults, proceeding much of childish ignorance, pardoned the punishment upon hope of amendment." *Cf. Records*, III, 174, 242.

We had no order to bring Poole away, nor to make any show of discontent to him, for fear he should persuade them to some mischief in our corn fields, hoping to get him away by fair means. So we returned in great love and amity to the great content of the Colony, which before lived in daily hazard, all messages being untruly delivered by Poole on both sides.³⁵

A few days later, Secretary Pory wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys, with regard to "Poole the interpreter," that Governor Yeardley "would make him sure for telling any more false tales to Opechancanough, if once he got him in his power." Yet when this shrewd turncoat arrived voluntarily at Jamestown bringing "the king's picture," he was forgiven, either because of Yeardley's natural leniency, or by way of diplomacy, as hinted by Rolfe; for despite Opechancanough's reported disgust over Poole's double dealing, the latter came to Jamestown as a kind of special ambassador from the werowance.³⁶

The matter of Poole's bringing back "the king's picture" would offer unexplainable difficulties, were it not for Secretary Strachey's previous reference to a catagraph that had been taken of Opechancanough's predecessor, of which Strachey had written: "Somewhat may his catagraph or portrature following serve to expresse the presentment of the great king Powhatan."³⁷ From this it would appear that Powhatan was the first American of whom a portrait was made, even if it were but a silhouette.

ADDENDA

In Virginia, besides complaints as to "pestilence" being introduced in crowded ships, ascribed in part to contagion in England and to tropical fevers contracted on the southern route, there was criticism of the Company because the immigrants were not supplied with sufficient food. On the other hand, the arrival of the *Margaret* illustrates what a well-equipped vessel carried on board. The *Margaret* listed approximately four hundred items in supplies. There were muskets; barrels and casks of powder; matches; swords; belts; copper; "smaller" and "greater" beads; buttons; bibles, prayer books and "books of piety"; many varieties of seeds, including "silkworm seed"; almonds, bolts of thread; needles;

cheese; glue; tools of all kinds; oatmeal; hatchets; ropes; paper; soap; brimstone; wooden platters, dishes, bowls, cups, trenchers; candlesticks; one lantern; handkerchiefs; stockings; andirons; locks; household, garden, and field utensils; saws and building tools; whetstones; scales; cider and beer to the extent of five and a half tons; canvas; material for sheets, bolsters; a great store of provisions, such as biscuits, bacon, etc.; fishing nets; pike heads; butter, suet; spices; drugs; stationery; rugs; and many other articles. The largest single item of expense was the hire of the ship, which amounted to well over \$3,000.³⁸ This trip of the 45-ton *Margaret* occurred in 1619; and it so happened that, at the request of George Thorpe, the voyage was described in great detail by Ferdinando Yate, passenger and subsequent planter in Virginia. Yate closed his account with the note: "If I had the eloquence of Cicero or the skilful art of Apelles, I could not pen, neither paint out, a better praise than the country deserves." The *Margaret* carried thirty-five passengers, all with familiar English names.³⁹ Those principally interested in her voyage were William Throckmorton, Richard Berkeley, George Thorpe, and John Smith of North Nibley.

At the time of Yeardley's arrival in 1619, it was estimated that there were one thousand persons in the colony; and those who were free to do so were demonstrating the land hunger of Englishmen. Claims often overlapped, but rival claimants appeared content to contend for their rights in legal fashion in the London-Virginia courts, the one known personal clash of the period being the result of a quarrel between a settler and a sojourner. This encounter may hardly be dignified as the "first duel" since it was reported that the combatants were well in their cups. The death of the visitor, "one Captain Stalling," occurred by accident rather than intention at the hands of Captain William Epps, described as a young man recommended for Virginia by Sir Nicholas Tufton.⁴⁰ The trial followed in due course and John Rolfe, in a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys in January, 1620, wrote that the jury, on hearing the evidence, declared Epps "guilty of manslaughter by chance medley." The Governor, however, "finding him (though young) a proper civil gentleman, and of good hopes, not long after restored him to his Command."

Chapter XII

SELF-GOVERNMENT VERSUS ROYAL INTERFERENCE

A FEW months after the meeting of the first General Assembly, John Rolfe observed that the older colonists had chosen their dividends in new land in accordance with the terms of the Great Charter. These measures, he wrote, gave the seasoned settlers much satisfaction, and they began at once to clear fresh ground and build more houses "in the greatest hope to make the colony flourish that ever yet happened."¹ This fresh impetus to colonial expansion was due largely to the confidence inspired by the success of the Virginia-London Company in providing self-government. In addition, the settlers knew that the Company was also planning for their economic welfare.

The economic plans projected by the Sandys-Southampton group may be contrasted with the concepts advanced under the regime of Sir Thomas Smith. In this connection, there was preserved in the Public Record Office a paper entitled, "A Valuation of the Commodities growing and to be had in Virginia: rated as they are there worth." The first item is "Iron, ten pounds the ton" and the list ends with "gums" derivable from indigenous trees. The supposed date of the list is 1610, hence we find therein no reference to tobacco. On the other hand, commodities having little or no adaptability to production in Virginia called for extended comment. One of these was silk, and others were cotton and sugar. Of the products that were "to be had," such as pitch, rosin, tar, and turpentine, the pioneer settlers reported that the pine trees were widely scattered in territory inhabited by hostile savages.*

Evidently it was the Smith-Johnson idea to have the colonists produce these raw materials for England's benefit. On the contrary, under the Sandys-Southampton regime every effort was

* Pine-tree products were, however, shipped to the mother country. Cf. *Records*, III, 327-339.

made to render the colony self-governing and self-sufficient, even to the extent of manufacturing goods from colonial products.

CROPS AND LABOR

After Rolfe's successful experimentation, it proved to be a source of trouble, as well as a blessing, that tobacco became immediately profitable; for it attracted equally prompt attention as a prime producer of revenue for the royal exchequer. So much, indeed, did this commodity appeal to the cupidity of James I that his Majesty actually demanded a third of the profits, whereas the royal percentage of precious metals had always been a fifth, in itself a high rating.*

In the *Progresses of King James* there is told at some length the story of a pageant-play entitled the "Masque of Flowers," on the preparation and presentation of which much money was expended. In the argument therein between the representatives of the 'vine' and the 'leaf,' the old god challenges the new as Silenus tilts with Kawasha:

Ahay for and a hoe,
Let's make this great Potan †
Drinke off Silenus' kan;
And when that he well drunke is,
Returne him to his munkies
From whence he came.

To this the champion of the leaf replies:

Kawasha comes in Majestie
Was never such a God as he;
He is come from a farre countrey
To make our nose a chimney.

* * * * *

* The demand for tobacco recognized no class distinction; for as early as April 20, 1614, the Journal of the House of Commons recorded that "many of the divines now smell of tobacco and poor men spend 4d of their day's wages at night in smoke." At the time of the founding of Jamestown, the best Spanish tobacco was valued at, in present currency, \$120 a pound, and dealers openly adulterated the product. Cf. George Arents, "Early Literature of Tobacco" (Washington, 1938), pp. 6-9. For a full list of source material on tobacco in general see the Arents library catalogue, *Tobacco, Its History* (Philadelphia, 1937-1941).

† Here, Mr. Nichols, the modern British editor, puzzled by *Potan*, ventures: "Qu. a potentate?" *Potan*, however, is evidently a poetic contraction of Powhatan.

The Wine takes the contrary way,
 To get into the hood;
 But good Tobacco makes no stay,
 But seizeth where it should.
 More incense hath burned
 At great Kawashae's foote,
 Than to Silèn and Bacchus both,
 And take in Jove to boote.²

Subsequently to John Rolfe's development of imported tobacco seed, improved methods were worked out for curing the leaves, which were at first "sweated" by throwing grass or hay over them, a practice forbidden by Dale as a dangerous diversion of the winter food of livestock. Under date of March 10, 1618, Governor Argall wrote: "Mr. Lambert has found out that tobacco cures better on lines than in heaps, and desires more lines be sent."³ If this were the Thomas Lambert whose name appears in various land grants, we find that he not only escaped the General Massacre, but rose to distinction as Lieutenant-Colonel, Sheriff, and Burgess for Lower Norfolk County. Tobacco barns were being built at this time, for we find that one was mentioned as having been burned at the time of the General Massacre.*

That the colonists did not object to hard labor, especially if the effort brought good returns, is shown by the zest with which they devoted themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, despite the fact that tobacco called for more labor over a longer period than any other colonial crop. As Mr. Secretary Pory observed: "Tobacco only takes up as much labour and care" as all other commodities together; for "in sowing, planting, weeding, worming, gathering, curing, and making up, it consumes ten months at least, if not eleven." And he added: "The extreme care, diligence, and labour spent about it doth prepare our people for some excellent subject. All those other commodities can prosper in a wet year, when tobacco proves stark naught . . . this year [1619] (which was a most extraordinary good year both for corn and tobacco) I think

* The burning of the barn affords an excellent illustration of the fact that items describing failure or destruction nearby always appear in the records while matters of constructive content are often lost to history. In this case, we first learn about the building of the barns only through the mention of the destruction of one of them.⁴

there will go home ten thousand weight at least as good as ever came out of the Indies."

The colonial point of view presented by Pory met with replies from the London Company in which the Company was prone to denounce excess production, as in a letter of September 11, 1621, wherein the Council reproached the planters for the "overweening esteem of their darling tobacco, to the overthrow of all other staple commodities."⁵ In the colony, tobacco had not only become the money crop, but already it had largely taken the place of money. Consequently, it was a natural temptation to some growers to mix bad tobacco with the good, and it was equally natural for the more far-sighted planters to oppose this as tending to injure the reputation of the Virginia product; hence, as mentioned above, the General Assembly called for rigid inspection; and all growers were warned that improperly aired or bad tobacco would be burned in the face of the owner.*

Again, because of its high rating in England, it was likewise natural that merchants should adulterate the product and attempt to monopolize its distribution, a temptation that seems to have proved too strong for the integrity of Alderman Robert Johnson; for Captain John Bargrave, planter, mariner, and free-trade advocate, in the midst of denouncing Argall's arbitrary procedure in Virginia, referred to Sir Thomas Smith's "conclave" or faction that "bogat" the magazine or store. Bargrave described the magazine as at first the "servant to the Company," but that it had become its "mistress." He further declared the hope of free trade for the colony and the mother country was lost since Alderman Johnson was become both buyer and seller for his "shop."†

Here, however, insofar as the colonists were concerned, there stepped forth the villain of the play in the person of James I, to rob the planters of their high hopes just as they anticipated realizing on the best crops they had yet produced. The king issued a

* The much-repeated story that tobacco was planted in the market-place and streets of Jamestown may be true; but since it comes to us via Argall in Smith's compilation, it is quite dubious.

† It is significant that Bargrave's petition was laid before the "Committee for Grievances" in the House of Commons, November, 1621, rather than addressed to the king or his Council.

proclamation, which arbitrarily set a limit on the amount of tobacco the colonists in Virginia and Bermuda could export to England. In the field of economics, at least, no open enemy of Virginia could have struck a harder blow; furthermore, the royal order was issued in the interest of Spain, the power that had so long sought the destruction of the colony, and James was willing to sacrifice, or at least jeopardize, the welfare of Virginia in order to forward the suit of Prince Charles for the hand of the Infanta. The royal order evoked an earnest protest from the Virginia planters. This protest, dated January 21, 1621, received the signatures of Governor Yeardley, George Thorpe, Thomas Newel, Nathaniel Powell, Samuel Maycock, John Pory, John Rolfe, and John Pountis; and it was addressed through the Company to King James, reading in part:

The humble petition of the distressed colony in Virginia shewing that whereas it pleased your Majesty now many years since, out of your religious desire to spread the Gospel of Christ, and princely ambition to enlarge your own dominions, to give encouragement unto us . . . to adventure our lives and fortunes hither . . . we by the favor of God . . . brought ourselves to some ability of substance without any other help from England but only by course of merchandise, are now like to be returned to the same or worse difficulties, by the sinister practice of principal persons of our Company at home, who pretending your Majesty's profit, but intending their own more, have gone about to blow us up at once.

Diplomatically avoiding putting the initiative on the king, the planters blamed those "principal persons" for the:

Proclamation which they have procured from your Majesty (as we hope, upon some false grounds) prohibiting our importation of tobacco, the only commodity which we have had hitherto means to raise towards the appareling of our bodies and other needful supplements . . . by which course we are plunged in so great extremities that now remaineth neither help nor hope, but that we must all here perish for want of clothing, and other necessities . . . whereby your Majesty shall not only lose so many good and loyal subjects, as have hitherto adventured their lives and substances in God's service and your Majesty's, but with them the hope of a territory as large and as opulent to be made, as any of those kingdoms you now possess.

May it therefore please your Majesty out of your princely compassion . . . either to revoke that Proclamation, and to restore us to our ancient liberty, or otherwise to send for us all home; and not to suffer the Heathen to triumph over us and to say "Where is now their God?"⁶

The concern of the leaders of the Virginia Company over the prospect of a one-crop colony had brought forward counter-proposals in Virginia suggesting that the Company rate grain at a fixed price of seven shillings a bushel. This proposal was based on the idea that if a ceiling were fixed for tobacco prices, a floor could be arranged for grain. However, according to the prices then prevailing, it would have been an exceptional year in which the Virginia-London Company would not have lost money on the purchase of every bushel at the seven-shilling rate. In effect, the Company would have had to subsidize the colonial planters, without being able to recoup its treasury by taxation. In Smith's history of Virginia, or that part of it he attributes to the Reverend J. Stockam, the author or editor observes that in the colony (1621) the price of corn was "appointed but at two shillings and six pence the bushel"; and, as it required much labor, the low price caused men to neglect raising grain and to depend upon trading for it.

Later, when the king moved to dissolve the Company, Captain Smith was brought forward as a witness against that body; and he must have startled even "his Majesty's Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia" by suggesting that since "they value a man's labor a year worth fifty or three-score pound, but on corn not worth ten pound . . . make a man's labor in corn worth three score pound, and in tobacco but ten pound a man, then shall they have corn sufficient to entertain all comers."⁷ This remarkable proposal represented price fixing at the rate of several hundred per cent increase on one crop accompanied by a corresponding depreciation in the price of another, the rating being interpreted in terms of labor.

COLONIAL DIFFICULTIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Indubitably there were settlers who had little or no ambition to labor, especially as indentures on the public lands. On the other hand emphasis on the indolent element has tended to ignore a vast

amount of work accomplished under difficult and dangerous conditions, and in the midst of diseases which the term "decimating" fails to describe, since, in sundry summer seasons, a tenth was multiplied five fold and more. In fine, the amazing fact of the first years of the colony was its survival. No armies could be recruited for campaign after campaign in the face of recurrent casualties amounting to from forty to seventy per cent; yet this was the mortality rate until more settlers had become "seasoned," or new ones had found more wholesome sites.

In view of the charges of Captain Smith and other critics of the Company and colony as to incompetence, neglect, or sheer laziness, it is but simple justice to note accomplishments along with failures. Looking at the bright side of the shield, we find records of the construction of enclosures for cattle and of miles of palisades especially across the curves or "curls" of the James, and this "palisadoing" had to have the effect of fortifications.⁸

In preparing fresh land for crops, pioneers faced the heavy drudgery of clearing the forest. Vines ran over and through the trees, "to the tops of the tallest" with tangled mats below—all of which presented a task that would be formidable for men armed with modern implements; yet the colonists were fortunate when they had sufficient axes, and few were those who had grindstones with which to sharpen them. There were, to be sure, spots where the savages had burned out the underbrush, and in these places it was reported that a coach and four could drive about between the trees.

WATER VERSUS WINE

Many efforts were made to domesticate the wild grapes. The vines grew so profusely that the first arrivals were led to believe Virginia would surpass France and Spain in the production of wine. The records do not show the private opinions of the French vigneron who were sent over to develop a champagne country upon the banks of the James; Secretary Pory, however, revealed that Sir George Yeardley had "brought hither some plants which do prosper passing well; but his vigneron, being a fretful old man, is dead." Pory closed the discussion of the prospect of

Virginia-made wine with the comment that one could scarce walk through the forest anywhere but "some vine or other will not be ready to tangle your foot." Yet, he added, "I have so largely dilated" on the prospect of Virginia wine, "not because I thirst after it; *for I thank God, I drinke water here with as much (if not more) pleasure and content, as I drank wine*" elsewhere.⁹ The italics are those of Mr. Pory; and skeptics are entitled to question the complete sincerity of the sentiment, when we bear in mind that his letter was addressed to Sir Edwin Sandys, who, it seems, distrusted winebibbers as well as "tobacco drinkers."

The matter of "the drinking of water" calls for further attention. It was no little shock to transplanted Englishmen to find that they had to substitute water for their accustomed ale, beer, and wines; hence it does not appear likely that that earnest layman missionary for the conversion of the Indians, George Thorpe, meant to be humorous when he declared that immigrants died not so much of disease as of shock "by not knowing they shall drink water here." *

By way of comparison, it may be observed that the Jamestown colonists were not the only confessed sufferers in this respect; for the hardship involved in drinking water likewise affected the Plymouth colony. This is shown in Governor Bradford's memorial eulogy of Elder Brewster, in which the Pilgrim leader declared that experience had shown "much drinking of water" tended to shorten life. Hence, Bradford regarded Brewster as a remarkable exception, in that the latter had lived till "near 80," despite the fact that he had "drunk nothing but water for many years."¹⁰

In July, 1620, a Mr. Russell presented to the London Company a project for the making of "artificial wine in Virginia," which, he declared, would alleviate thirst without recourse to the desperate expedient of drinking water. Like most inventors of panaceas he was voluble with statistics. Assuming there were then, or soon would be, three thousand persons in Virginia, each would

* Letter to John Smith, of North Nibley, in *Records*, III, 417. Thorpe added, however, that "We have found a way to make so good drink of Indian corn as I protest we have divers times refused to drink good strong English beer and chosen to drink that," from which we may be justified in inferring that this discovery marked the first manufacture of "corn liquor."

consume "a wine pottle a day, which for 3000 people is 23 tons and 28 odd gallons, accounting 4 hogsheads to the ton and each hogshead to contain 64 gallons." Having thereby constructed the market and the proportionate demand for his product, he averred he could manufacture a satisfying beverage from a native herb growing wild in the Virginia woods. The cost, he declared, would be only about six shillings a ton, or twelve pence a barrel. This "artificial wine was clear, without any hipostesis, grounds or lees"; and it "did not grow flat, decay, or sour, though it be kept a whole year." Furthermore, it made no one drunk regardless of the quantity consumed, and it was "an excellent preservative" against scurvy and infections on board ship "in long voyages." With the reports from Jamestown in mind, he declared it was "very medicinal for all such as live in low, marsh grounds subject to many unwholesome fogs and damp." The inventor or discoverer held the magic formula, which he was willing to demonstrate to the Company on payment of £1000 cash, with commissions on the sale thereof in Virginia. The Company had the matter under consideration; but "Mr. Russell, alchemist and chemist," must have been called upon to give at least a limited demonstration of his product, since upon the margin of his claims, someone summarily dismissed his proposition with the brief notation: "Sir John Brooke 2 Apr. 1621, told me, that of his knowledge, this wine was made of sassafras, and licorice boiled in water. He had of the drink."

STAPLE CROPS

In estimating the amount of grain raised in Virginia, it seems impossible to determine the relative proportions of wheat and corn, partly for the reason that the word *corn* was at first used interchangeably. English wheat was brought over for seed purposes, and it was planted in the spring rather than in the fall. The colonists found by experience that it matured more quickly and shattered more readily in the Virginia sun, and the boast that on one occasion the planters got two crops in a single season was, perhaps, a confession that they had not gathered all of the first one before much of the grain had shattered. Upon gathering the

second crop of wheat, the planters set out Indian corn in expectation of a third crop on the same land.

That the colonists were ready to plant seeds or seedlings of any sort from any place is shown in planting wheat * seized by Argall in his expedition against the French in northern Virginia and by setting out pineapples from the West Indies. As long as the Company had the means, the colonists were supplied with English seeds of all sorts; and in the minutes of the Court for Virginia of June 13, 1621, we find a reference to the sending of some "fruit trees of two years grafting." This shipment may have marked the beginning of that great variety of apples which became distinctive of Virginia orchards. Eventually, these varieties were timed to ripen in succession throughout the summer and fall, from June to October. Except for wild strawberries, which excelled in size and taste any then grown in England, the early colonists did not find native fruits very satisfactory. Grapes were plentiful, of course, including the predecessor of the famous scuppernong. One variety of "plum," however, was at first trial just as agreeable to the taste of the colonists as the English mustard was to the aborigines (*supra*, p. 26). This particular fruit was none other than the persimmon, described by Captain Smith as "first Greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe." There could hardly be any mistake in identification, for Smith sententiously remarked: "If it be not ripe, it will draw a man's mouth awry, with much torment." ¹¹

FIRST MANUFACTURING

The various efforts at the establishment of salt, iron, and glass works took much time and attention. The endeavor to manufacture salt out of sea water was almost as old as the colony. However, the alleged impractical ideas of the Company in this respect were criticized by Secretary Pory, who wrote to Sandys that he "would undertake in one day to make as much salt by the heat of the sun after the manner used in France, Spain, and Italy, as can be made in a year by that toilsome and erroneous way of

* Cf. Letter of Don Diego de Molina in Brown, *Genesis*, II, 742. Molina wrote that the wheat came from "Canada," and this error has been repeated by those who have referred to the matter.

boiling sea water into salt in kettles as our people at Smith's island have hitherto [been] accustomed."

The earliest attempts at the manufacture of glass have been discussed in a previous chapter. The first glass factory could not be successfully defended against the Indians and it fell into disuse. In 1621, glass manufacturing was resumed. Beads were made, and since they were used as currency in trading with the Indians, the factory has been called "the first American mint." However, manufacturing was doomed to be wholly subordinate to agriculture; and the rebuilt factory was ruined by the Italian workmen, who, in 1624, smashed the machinery with crowbars.¹²

Authorities on the development of the iron industry, from 507 B.C. to A.D. 1919, have given the year 1608 as marking the first shipment of iron ore from the American colonies. In his letter to the Council of the London Company, Captain John Smith asserted he had sent in that year over "two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good iron ore at the least." * The selection of this date rests on Smith's conjecture as to the nature of the shipment. In 1609, however, we can definitely trace a shipment of proved ore, for in that year Admiral Newport carried back to England a considerable quantity. This was smelted in England and the resultant product sold to the East India Company at £4 the ton. William Strachey stated that Newport shipped the ore, from which "there hath been made sixteen or seventeen tons of iron so good, as the East Indian merchants bought it of the Virginian Company, preferring it before any other iron of what country soever."¹³ The iron was bought by the East India Company at less than half the price given in the list of commodities prepared by the Virginia-London Company (*supra*, p. 283); and since Sir Thomas Smith was the governor of the East India Company, he was both seller for the one group and buyer for the other. This purchase of Virginia ore, together with the sale of the "very much moth eaten" cloth by the East India corporation to the Virginia Company (*supra*, p. 236) arouses a not unnatural suspicion that the officials of the former were trading both ways at the expense of the latter.

In the "broadside" of the Virginia Company of May, 1620, there is a notation to the effect that "150 persons" with full equip-

* Cf. *Records*, III, 464.

ment are furnished to Virginia to set up iron works there. This is a matter of particular interest, since, in contradistinction to the subsequent colonial policy of the British government, the London-Virginia Company under the Sandys-Southampton management was willing and ready to encourage manufacturing, even to the extent of subsidizing it. The solicitude of Sir Edwin Sandys for this venture was apparently rewarded by the statement of a newcomer in Virginia, John Rowe, who, from his son-in-law's place "within the Subberbs of James Cittie," reported that "the Iron workes goeth forward veary well." Iron was promised, according to John Berkeley, by Whitsuntide, 1622, Berkeley, as general manager, having been approved "by extraordinary recommendations to be an industrious and intelligent gentleman many ways but especially for iron works." *

The argument for silk culture in Virginia seemed simplicity itself; for mulberry trees were plentiful and the leaves were the natural food of the worm; also the Chesapeake region was well within its latitudinal habitat. Merely to state these points was considered proof positive that the plan was practical. Thereafter, despite failure after failure, the fallacy persisted throughout the seventeenth century.†

In the Company's recommendations for 1619 we find the notation:

Silk: for which that country is exceeding proper. . . . For the setting up of which commodity, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased now the second time (the former having miscarried) to bestow upon the Company plenty of silk-worms seed of his own store, being the best.¹⁴

Here was a colonial enterprise which particularly concerned James I, and which had the hearty support of the Ferrars. In

* *Records*, III, 278, 464, 475, 640. When the news reached London of the destruction of the plant and the massacre of the workers, the Company courageously maintained hope for ultimate success in directing that "The people of the iron works . . . should be committed unto the charge of Mr. Maurice Berkeley" to be employed as seems advisable "until such time as we may again renew the business."

† Vicariously, as it were, ultimate success was achieved three hundred years later in the manufacture of a man-devised product having properties equal or superior to the worm-made filament. In short, in 1941 the "Reformed Virginian Silkworm" was, in Virginia production, supplanted by the new-formed nylon.

September, 1622, the king demanded that a special letter be sent to Virginia, wherein the Company was to give orders that "a speedy course be taken for the setting up of silkworks." In fact, silkworm seed appears to have been the sole personal contribution of his Majesty to the cause of American colonization.*

At the time of the massacre, elaborate preparations were being made in England to send out John Bonnell (Bonoeil), described as a "servant in these employments to his most 'Excellent Majesty of Great Britain, France, Ireland, Virginia, and the Summer-Ilands.'" ¹⁵ Bonnell was the author of a "Treatise of the Art of making silke"; and the instructions which were to accompany him were evidently dictated under the king's direction and were intended to be autocratically mandatory upon the colonists, who had, however, already developed a degree of individualistic resistance to orders sent overseas.

Suffice it to say, for the present, that George Sandys, sent out to the colony as its treasurer, made honest efforts to renew the business; and Bonnell's pamphlet was followed by *The Reformed Virginian Silkworm*, wherein silk was described as a "really-royall-solid-rich-stable Commodity," beside which tobacco was but "smoak and vapour." Following the directions for silk culture, the insect was apostrophized in a poem of some length, in which these lines occur:

O wondrous thing! a Worm to fast so long
And then come out a painted Fly so strong!

* * * * *

Now from smoke Virginia shall be raised
And throughout the World be duly praised.¹⁶

Those who undertook to read this booklet with a view to following the directions given as to attending the worm must indeed have thought it a "wondrous thing." In the first place, the preparation of the beds for mulberry seeds called for digging to the depth of two feet. When the plants came up, the seedlings were

* Doubtless to please his Majesty, and possibly by command from him, the Company ordered that in the colony there should be no wearing of any apparel of silk, "until such time they have it of the silk there made by silkworms and raised by their own industry."—*Records*, III, 469.

subject to two transplantings, with special care as to tending and watering, to say nothing of skilled trimming of roots as well as of branches. At hatching time, silkworm "seed" must be "carried about the person in the day time in some warm place about you, in a little safe box; but in the night either lay them in your bed or in between two warm pillows until such time as the worms begin to come forth." When hatched they were to be nursed continually through four separate and distinct childhood crises. The directions stated further that the mulberry leaves fed to the worms should not only be fresh but also free from dew; and "the party that cometh near them must not smell of garlick, onions, or the like." On the contrary, the room in which they luxuriated was to be kept sweet with "herbs and flowers which are delightful and pleasing to the smell."

The reader may have noted that the English "adventurers" had conceived the idea that every trade should have its specialists, a sentiment that found response in Virginia only when the settlers were called upon to do things they regarded as distasteful or impractical. This craft concept explains in part why the Company sent out some "Dutchmen" for mill work; Poles and Italians for glass, pitch, and tar; and French "vignerons." One of the most illuminating comments by the Company occurs in connection with these importations, which must have referred to the colonial diversion of experts and the beginnings of the versatility of the individual in America. For those employed upon public work, it was required: "That all sorts of artsmen be employed in their several trades, and that store of apprentices be placed and held to learn their occupations," and that these were not to be permitted "to forsake" the same.

After the disastrous Argall regime, Governor Yeardley labored in restoring the damage done and then in attending a rapidly expanding colony. Travel by water was slow, and trips by officials to look over the scattered properties of the Company, together with visiting the various boroughs, constituted a considerable task. Furthermore, no schedule was possible for sail boats, which were the principal means of conveyance for any considerable distance. In a letter to Sandys in 1619 Yeardley apologized for not having sooner shipped some Virginia walnut. In addition to a supply for

Sandys, he asked that planks sufficient for household tables be presented in his name to Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir Nicholas Tufton, Sir Dudley Digges, and Mr. John Ferrar. Besides writing about these lesser activities, he tells of attending to "my Lady Dale's crop of tobacco" upon which he gallantly engaged to do away with freight charges by agreement with his "partners" in the good ship *Trial*. After expressing his high regard for his predecessor, Sir Thomas Dale, he adds: "The deer for his Majesty are now sent home in my own ship, pray God they may safely arrive and be delivered."

In marked contrast to Smith and Argall, Yeardley paid generous tributes to a number of his associates. He lauded the work and character of Captain Newce, the official in charge of the Company's lands; and he welcomed Mr. William Tracy sight unseen—"a worthy gentleman, as I hear."* He particularly praised George Thorpe, "whom," he wrote to Sandys, "I can never sufficiently commend, nor give you enough thanks . . . I find [him] to be a most sufficient gentleman, virtuous and wise, and one upon whose shoulders the frame of this godly building, the government of this whole colony, would most fitly sit." Yeardley expressed the hope that it "will please God to give him health and strength, so that having been well seasoned to the country," he would assuredly become "the most fit man to be Governor of Virginia . . . one whom I can obey with such love."¹⁷

Sandys had secretly warned Yeardley against the latter's cousin, John Pory, as an adherent of the Warwick faction, and therefore likely to do Yeardley harm. In fact, proof had been found of Pory's service to Warwick, in the secretary's private correspondence which was, by accident or design, intercepted. In any event, Yeardley wrote to Sandys in calm appraisal: "As for Mr. Pory, I have formerly written something to you concerning him . . . wherein I justified him . . . The time I hope will not be long but you shall see how far I have believed and how I trust him." Yeardley added that Sir Edwin's words of warning "have never

* That there was water travel by night is seen in Yeardley's statement of regret that he had not met Tracy on his arrival through "missing his ship as I came down the river in the night time."

since departed from me and by experience I have found your judgment not deceived.”¹⁸

ON CONVERTING THE INDIANS

Also in this letter Yeardeley discusses ways and means for carrying out the original concept of the English amicably to “inhabit” the land with the aborigines. Evidently Sandys had been pressing Yeardeley about the conversion of the savages, for Yeardeley replied:

The spiritual vine you speak of will not so suddenly be planted as it may be desired, the Indians being very loath upon any terms to part with their children. The best course I could devise herein to draw the people in to live amongst us was that Opechancanough would appoint and choose out so many . . . * families, as that in every corporation and . . . * plantation there might be placed a household, promising him they should have houses built in every place, and ground to set corn and plant upon.¹⁹

Under this plan, as Yeardeley indicated, the Indian families would support themselves; and he added:

If the Company please for the encouragement of them to live with us, to allow them some apparel and cattle and such other necessities, it will be a means to beget in them a good affection to continue themselves with us and to draw in others who shall see them live so happily.

At the close of the Reverend William Crashaw’s published sermon, which was an official expression of the higher aims of the Virginia-London Company, we find the following interesting antiphon expressing the ideals of the devout leaders of the Company:

England to God—“Lord, here am I, send me.”

God to Virginia—“He that walketh in darkness and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the Lord and stay upon his God.”

Virginia to God—“God be merciful to us and bless us, and cause the light of Thy countenance to shine upon us; let thy ways be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations.”

England to Virginia—“Behold I bring you glad tidings, unto you is born a Saviour, even Christ the Lord.”

* Original manuscript undecipherable.

Virginia to England—"How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings and publish salvation." ²⁰

COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE

The longest letter, and in sundry respects the most remarkable document, written in America in the seventeenth century, has been cited; *viz.*, Secretary Strachey's letter to an "excellent Lady." * This was the first New World composition in English that possessed a high degree of literary merit; and it is unfortunate that Strachey did not take up permanent residence in Virginia, so that America might lay better claim to him. In view of the personal relationships and family connections between officials of the government in Virginia and their correspondents in the government of the Virginia Company in London, it is not surprising to find in letters pertaining to state affairs private messages conveyed to common friends or relatives. For example, in Governor Yeardley's official or semi-official letters, there are references to the exchange of courtesies between Lady Yeardley and Lady Sandys. On one occasion, after discussing the business of the colony in approximately 1800 words, in which the Virginia governor dwelt upon matters not only of national but of international import, he wrote: "I find Captain Newce and his wife to deserve your commendations and will therein do according to your desire, as also my wife in duty to your good lady will be ready to do Mrs. Newce all the pleasure she is able."

That there was further family correspondence on sundry personal matters is indicated by the following: "I must beseech you to excuse both me and my wife in that we have not returned answer to those letters we have received from your virtuous lady whom we both honor." There were thanks for the "present my wife received" from Lady Sandys, and for a message for the "Countess Dowager of Pembroke." ²¹

We have no more than mere references to the correspondence between Lady Sandys and Temperance Flowerdew Yeardley; but an example of the pungent comment of Lady Wyatt has been above presented as shown in the letter wherein she pays her re-

* *Supra*, p. 128.

spects to the shipment of ill-smelling beer. In any event, Lady Wyatt's sprightly presence at Jamestown must have been grateful to George Sandys, poet and scholar; for he wrote to Sir Edwin: "My Lady Wyatt, God be thanked, hath recovered her health, and no question will continue it, she being of so cheerful a disposition which in this country is an antidote against all diseases."²² We might well have had more than a glimpse into this cheerfulness of spirit, but Sir Nathaniel Rich left excerpts only from the letters of that year (1623), from which, for sinister purposes, he appears to have deleted anything encouraging or optimistic.*

Under Sir Edwin Sandys' extraordinary efforts to expand the colony, it became apparent that Company officials were being imposed upon by mariners, shipping agencies, and commission merchants; for Yeardley reported that the food brought in these ships fell far short of the Company's estimate. His report thereon was all the more convincing because of his evident regard for the person in charge, Deputy John Ferrar, who, he wrote, "Is my worthy and loving friend, but herein I must blame him." Again, the following excerpt shows also that he was not afraid to offer candid advice:

Sir, I beseech you be not offended if I deal plainly respecting the honor and reputation of my friends; and suffer me, I pray you, to advise you that you do not run into so great matters in speedy and hasty sending so many people over hither and undertaking so great works, before you have acquainted me and have truly been informed by me of the state of the plantation and what may be done here.²³

As against overly optimistic correspondents, on the one hand, and pessimists on the other, the estimate made by Captain Newce

* Unfriendly editing is certainly a fair inference, if we bear in mind that Rich and the Earl of Warwick were interested in creating a dark picture of colonial conditions, with a view to using it as evidence in the suit against the London Company. In this mutilated correspondence particular prominence is given to attacks upon Sir Edwin Sandys on the one hand, and disproportionate space is afforded the prospects of silk culture on the other. The latter expectation could be counted upon to make an appeal to the king to take over the colony. Cf. *Records*, IV, 230. On one occasion, when Captain Butler was confronted with the charge of forging Mrs. Whitaker's handwriting, he alleged she had dictated its contents to him, but that he had penned it. When her husband was brought to England, he, too, disclaimed it as "none of her doing or direction." Cf. "Discourse of the Old Company," *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452.

is refreshingly candid both as to colonial advantages and disadvantages. The climate, he said, was especially adaptable to young men with strong bodies; but older men or those less fitted would find it "a fierce encounter." He thanked God that he and his wife were well; but, it may be noted, neither had then encountered the malaria prevalent in the summer months. Like George Thorpe and William Bradford, he expressed the view that perhaps one cause of the sickness fatal to so many was by the overmuch drinking of water, albeit he added that want of good food and a better variety might be contributing causes. For the indentured servants he suggested a shorter term of service as likely to make them feel more interest in both the present and the future.*

The complimentary close of letters written from Virginia shows a wide variety. "At your service ever to be commanded in all duty," was Mr. Buck's style. Yeardley varied from his formal "At your commandment" to "At your service and command in all faithful duties," or "Yours very ready to do you service." Jabez Whitaker closed with "Yours to the best of his power." Thorpe used "Ever yours," which is regarded as a comprehensive, yet discreet, closing not unfamiliar to feminine correspondents of the present time. The palm for brevity—"Yours"—goes to George Sandys, who may have begrudged official correspondence as so much time taken from his poetical compositions. On the other hand, to Master John Pory, quondam member of Parliament and first Speaker of the Virginia General Assembly, must be awarded credit for both length and variety. To Sir Edwin Sandys he subscribed himself as, "Your lordships ever most humbly at your command," "Yours ever most humbly bounded to love and serve you," "Yours most cordially devoted to your service," besides an equally ornate closing in French.

* A colonial tribute to Sir Edwin Sandys, in the form of a personal appreciation, is found in a letter to him from the Reverend Richard Buck, dated June 22, 1621, in which Mr. Buck writes:

"I received your letters, which gave me much content and comfort that our Lord God stirred up so worthy an instrument to do me good. I humbly thank you for your pains for me, the Lord reward you an inheritance among the saints, after you have run your race and finished the good course which the Lord hath appointed you to fulfill."—*Records*, III, 460.

This may be compared with a similar appreciation of Sandys by John Rolfe, *supra*, p. 233.

INDIAN STRATAGEMS; THE GENERAL MASSACRE

Yeadley had suggested as his successor either George Thorpe or William Newce, both of whom had taken up residence in Virginia; but the Company chose Sir Francis Wyatt; and, again in sharp contradistinction to the attitude of jealousy evinced by Captain Smith and Deputy Governor Argall, Yeadley proclaimed his satisfaction in the following terms (June 27, 1621): "To my great joy and singular contentment, I have heard both from the Company and by some others of my very good friends, of the election of my worthy successor."²⁴

THE GENERAL MASSACRE

Wyatt arrived in the colony in the fall of 1621. His most distinguished fellow-passenger was George Sandys, the youngest brother of Sir Edwin, and a member of the Company, upon whose sailing Michael Drayton addressed a poem to him as "the Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia," in which occur the verses:

. . . And (worthy GEORGE) by industry and use
 Let's see what lines Virginia will produce . . .
 Intice the muses thither to repair,
 Intreat them gently, train them to that air, . . .²⁵

In confirming the appointment of Wyatt the Virginia-London Company's first admonition to the colonial Council, after admonishing the latter to "assist the governor in the administration of justice," was to "advance Christianity among the Indians" thus showing that this primary aim or ideal of the projectors had in no wise been changed because of sundry demonstrations of hostility on the part of the aborigines.

Although at the time of Wyatt's arrival the "ancient planters" were indicating their distrust of the savages, no positive steps had been taken for the protection of the plantations. This neglect was due partly to the attitude of the newcomers and partly to the determination of the Company projectors to convert and bring "to civilitie" the Indians in general, particularly through having their children go to the English schools and the proposed college.

Hence, in any consideration of the subsequent massacre, George Thorpe, would-be educator of the savages, stands out on the one side; and, on the other, the wily werowance Opechancanough, successor to Wahunsenacawh and the master mind of the plot, together with Nenematanew,* or, as the English called him, Jack of the Feathers. The latter was the forerunner of the general attack, and from his activities the English might well have taken definite warning.

Nenematanew wore a peculiar combination of feathers like a bird, or possibly a spirit, after an Indian version of the angel concept acquired from some worthy Anglican minister or layman. In any event, he sought to convey the impression among his own people that he was invulnerable to any hurt that could be done to him by the English. We first hear of him in connection with a weird proposal made by him, which was discussed by Yeardley and his Council in November, 1619. The Governor "demanded the opinion of the Council concerning a project revealed unto him by Nenemattanan, an Indian commonly called by the name of English Jack with the Feathers . . . who required for the governor some eight or ten English with their arms to assist him in battle against a people dwelling . . . beyond the Falls." Nenematanew offered to furnish the English with Indian shoes to march, and "to carry their armor for them till they had occasion to use it, as likewise to share all the booty of male and female children, of corn and other things; and to divide the conquered land." This request was alleged to have come from Opechancanough, so, in order to win the latter's friendship by helping him to revenge himself upon his enemies, who were said to have "murdered certain women of his country against the law of Nations," the Council inclined favorably to the proposal. In addition to pleasing the werowance, they thought that "the children taken in their war" might be introduced to civilization and ultimately "furnish the intended College," such being a fair opportunity for the "advancement of this blessed work."²⁶ However, we learn no more of Nenematanew until he was accused of conducting a kind of personal war, not with, but upon, settlers whom he was charged with

* This, like so many of the Indian names, may be spelled *ad lib.*, and the speller would probably find his orthography corroborated in the records.

slaying. When complaint was made to Opechancanough that the interracial peace was being broken, the werowance denied the reports whilst demanding that the bodies be disinterred and examined.*

According to Smith's history, Nenematanew came upon a just end. Having treacherously persuaded a settler named Morgan to go trading on the York river, the "savage murdered him by the way, and after two or three days returned again to Morgan's house, where he found two youths, his servants, who asked for their master. Jack replied directly he was dead. The boys, suspecting as it was, by seeing him wear his cap, would have had him to Master Thorpe. But Jack so moved their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground. They put him in a boat to have him before the Governor; but, by the way, Jack, finding the pangs of death upon him, desired of the boys two things; the one was, that they would not make it known he was slain with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the English."²⁷

To complete the background of the massacre, it is now necessary to return to Master Thorpe. This Englishman, whom such different characters as Yeardley and Pory united in honoring, frequently visited Opechancanough, as a likely convert to the Christian faith. Thorpe had taken the most extraordinary pains to introduce the great werowance to the amenities of civilization. In the picturesque words of Samuel Purchas:

Opachankanough doted on a house which the English had built for him of our fashion: hee dwelled therein, shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping his Keyes charily, and busying himself with locking and unlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangenesse of that Engine, a Locke and Key.²⁸

Not long before the massacre, Thorpe wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys to complain of the attitude of some of the colonists towards the Indians in that they did not labor as they should in converting the "heathen that live round about us and are daily conversant amongst us"—and that "most men's mouths give them

* This the English refused. A similar instance occurred in the Province of Maryland in 1688, when the Nanticoke Indians demanded that the grave of Richard Enoch "be opened." The Marylanders consented but gave notice that no more such demands would be granted.—*Maryland Archives*, Vol. VIII, p. 5, *passim*.

nothing but maledictions and bitter execrations, being thereunto falsely carried with a violent mispersuasion (grown upon them I know not how) that these poor people have done unto us all the wrong and injury that the malice of the devil or man can afford, whereas in my poor understanding, if there be wrong on any side, it is on ours, who are not so charitable to them as Christians ought to be, they being (especially the better sort of them) of a peaceable and virtuous disposition." True, this trustful soul found some minor faults with his Indian friends in that they took all but gave nothing. Nevertheless, he thought if the werowance's house were fitted up with proper furnishing, the natives would admire it, and more and more "affect English fashions"; and so the door of their souls could be entered through the "book of the world."²⁹

About a month later, Thorpe again wrote to Sandys of his great joy that Opechancanough "hath divers times sent for me, as he saith, out of a desire he hath to be further informed of some things by me offered unto him at our last meeting. I pray God give me success according to my intention."³⁰ However, the report having reached Jamestown that the Indians in their tribal gatherings had been making hostile demonstrations against the English, especially one held by their priests over the body of Powhatan, Governor Wyatt made inquiry as to the meaning of these things, whereupon Opechancanough returned an answer that all was well; and, if his message were correctly "Englished," it was couched in oriental-like protestations of undying affection.

The evidence, nevertheless, points to Opechancanough's authorship of a long-planned conspiracy. Since open attack had failed and the ambushing which had been attempted by Powhatan had met with but partial success, the savages appeared as guests at the houses of the English throughout the not inconsiderable area they now occupied. Evidently upon an understood signal in each case, the Indian visitors attacked the settlers in their homes or at their work, without regard to age or sex. This careful planning attempted to include every detail; for example, many of the boats of the settlers had been borrowed by what good Master Thorpe had described as his "peaceable and virtuous" Indian neighbors—and boats were the principal means of communication, the equivalent of horses, by means of which warnings might be given, as indeed

it happened in the saving of the Jamestown neighborhood, where the old rule against the entry of Indians by night still held. Furthermore, upon previous complaint from the savages that they feared the animals, Thorpe had requested the killing of English mastiffs owned by the settlers. Thorpe himself had owned several of these animals and they might well have made trouble for his slayers.

The attack was timed for the morning of March 22, 1622.* In many cases, the Indians had "sat down at breakfast with our people, whom immediately with their own tooles they slew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman, or child; so sudden in their execution that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction."³¹ In like manner the savages fell upon those who had gone to work in the fields or at whatever labor in which they were engaged, and many of the English brides of the preceding year met a bloody death in newly built Virginia homes. Smith set the total number of those slain at 347 men, women, and children out of a population estimated at 1240. Subsequently, however, in retailing the news of the massacre in his warning to the Plymouth settlers, Captain Huddleston declared that "four hundred persons large will not make good our losses";³² and the later estimates of the London Company likewise inclined to the higher mark.³³

The Indians were at their worst in their treatment of their friend and would-be benefactor; *viz.*, "that worthy religious gentleman, Master George Thorpe." Not content with killing him, they took delight in abusing his dead body in a manner "unfitting to be heard with civil ears."

As against the frightful results accruing from English trust in the savages, it should ever be borne in grateful remembrance that the act of one convert was the means of saving the Jamestown neighborhood from the fate of other communities. Whether he had a Christian name or not, he was known as Chanco. This youth had been indentured or adopted in the family of Richard Pace, who, two years before, had secured a tract of four hundred acres on the south side of the James river at the western limit of the James City Corporation proclaimed by Governor Argall.

* April 1, N. S.

During the night of March 21, Chanco and his brother, who was in the household of William Perry, discussed the parts secretly assigned them in the slaughter planned for the following morning. Perry's Indian may have been agreeable to the plan; but Chanco arose in the night and told Richard Pace of the impending attack.* Pace prepared his plantation for defense and rowed across the river to Jamestown to give warning to Captain William Powell, and through him, to the town or corporation insofar as messengers could be sent. In the morning, when certain "peaceful" Indians approached Jamestown bent on their deadly mission, they were greeted by armed men and forced to flee.†

Like many commanders throughout the range of recorded history, Opechancanough discovered that no extended plan is likely to attain perfection where dependence upon the human element is widespread. In this case, for one reason or another, several of the werowance's groups missed in the matter of total surprise; so that in the midst of the widespread slaughter, sundry of the settlers were able to defend themselves. A planter by the name of Baldwin was able to secure his musket whereby he saved his wounded wife, "his house, himself, and divers others"; but the isolation of these farm houses is well illustrated in the statement that "near half a mile" away, the savages came to the next plantation, where was "Master Thomas Hamor with six men, and eighteen or nineteen women and children." Some of the Indians set fire to a tobacco barn and "came to tell them in the dwelling house of it." Except Thomas Hamor, who was busy writing a letter, all the men ran to the barn and were shot "full of arrows." "Having finished" his letter, Hamor followed "to see what was the matter." He was wounded by an arrow, but ran back and barricaded his house, which the Indians set on fire. Thereupon, a boy found a musket already loaded, fired it effectively, so that the family es-

* Cf. *Voyage of Anthony Chester to Virginia* (Leyden, 1707). English reprint in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, First Series, IX, 212. Smith stated (Arber, ed., II, 578) that "Perry's Indian presently arose and reveals it to Pace, that used him as a sonne"—evidently a confusion in expression or in identity. See *Voyage of Anthony Chester*, reprinted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, First Series, IX, 212.

† Cf. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XVI, 222. In 1624, Perry appeared in England with "an Indian boy" for whom entertainment and education were asked and obtained. It would be interesting to know if this was Chanco. Cf. *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, II, 532, 538.

caped and joined the impromptu garrison at Master Baldwin's. There were several ships in the James, which the savages would fain have surprised; but musketeers from one of them saved the general storehouse.⁸⁴

It appears that the attackers were directed to take no risks in delaying their bloody work, so that with most of the victims, death came suddenly and they were spared the agonies of prolonged torture. A few were carried off, and one Mrs. Boys, or Boyce, was later, through Chanco's good offices, returned to Jamestown dressed as an Indian queen; but such captives were recovered only after a campaign of vengeance had been begun.

Although the records of the massacre are scanty, there are several brief references which incline the reader to think that there were sundry converts other than Chanco, who saved households here and there; else it is hard to explain, by way of example, the fact that not far from Martin's hundred, where seventy-three were slain, there was a small household that entirely escaped. This family must have had Indian friends who refused to play their part that fateful morning. Again, Master Thorpe himself was warned by a true Indian friend, or convert, but Thorpe refused to heed.*

The cry for retaliation that rose among the settlers was now universal. Gone, for the time being, was the thought of conversion. Moreover, since the plans for the free schools and the college were bound up with the concept of interracial education, these projects were set aside; although the mother company was, with the prayers of many pious persons, then preparing to send out masters for the one, and the rector or president for the other, with books on "religion and learning," to the value of hundreds of dollars, for study and reference.

Besides the Chanco incident, which played the larger part in checking the plan for the extermination of the settlers, Opechan-canough came upon a stumbling block in the attitude of the werowance of the Eastern Shore, Debedeavon, or the Laughing King. Across the wide expanse of the Chesapeake, Debedeavon could afford to be more or less independent of the Powhatan confederation west of the Bay, so while it was reported that Opechan-

* Cf. *infra*, p. 311 ff.

canough had attempted to enlist Debedeavon in the plot, the Laughing King would have no part in it.

EFFECTS OF THE MASSACRE

After what we have learned of the patriotic character and altruistic aims of Sir Edwin Sandys, and of his incessant labors for the Virginia enterprise, we may better appreciate his grief over the latest ill news from the colony—a grief that was shared by the “patriot party” in the Company. On the other hand, having been thus given a dramatic excuse for their opposition, the enemies of Sandys and Southampton now changed from secretive to open attacks, inspired largely by Sir Thomas Smith, Alderman Robert Johnson, and the powerful Earl of Warwick. Under such circumstances, less courageous souls would have given over the “action.”

For months past the Company had been engaged in attempts to ameliorate the onerous terms of the proposed “tobacco contract.” The mere recital of the demands of the autocratic king was followed by prolonged pauses in the discussions of the Quarter Courts. Nevertheless, the will to do good persisted, and in 1621-1622, or up to the news of the massacre, the Company leaders were engaged in making plans to aid the newly appointed rector of the college at Henrico. They had, for example, secured the services of the Reverend Mr. Pemberton as one “intending forthwith to go to Virginia and there to employ himself for the converting” of the Indians.³⁵ This particular arrangement was completed on July 3, 1622.

In the minutes of the Quarter Court of July 17 may be seen the first reference to the disaster; and it is highly significant of the faith of the founders that this reference was in the form of a resolution applauding one “Mr. Trulove and his associates,” who “intend to proceed in their plantation, being no whit discouraged with this late massacre.” It was stated further that this group “are now setting forth a bark” for Virginia. A committee was appointed “to consider what power and authority may be granted by the Company to the surviving friends of such as are slain . . . to administer upon the goods left unto them,” etc. The appointment of this committee followed a petition of William Sheffield,

whose two-year-old grandson had been "saved alive in that bloody massacre."

In contrast to the pessimism shown in the excerpts of letters from Virginia exhibited by Sir Nathaniel Rich (*supra*, p. 300, *infra*, p. 345) the true spirit of the determination of the colonists to carry on is illustrated by their actions after the massacre. Although there was talk by some of moving to the Eastern Shore, others, even among the outlying planters, apparently disregarded the orders of Governor Wyatt to abandon the more distant homesteads. They would stay where they were; and one of these was a woman, a Mrs. Proctor, who was managing her own plantation.

Prompt counterattack upon the savages was essential, but it was difficult of accomplishment; for every able-bodied man was needed for spring planting. Moreover, the Indians were not only extremely mobile but also adept at ambushing, as the English, with heavy arms and equipment, attempted to pursue them through the forest. Nevertheless, expeditions were sent out under Sir George Yeardley, Captain William Powell, George Sandys, and Captain John West, still another brother of Lord Delaware. Captain Nathaniel Powell, one of the ablest of the first settlers, had perished, together with his wife, although Captain John Martin, a member of the first Council, escaped unscathed.

Now that active warfare with the savages was renewed, James I, upon the urgent petition of the Company, gave orders for the delivery of ancient armor out of the Tower. The pieces were listed as "100 brigantines, 40 jacks of plate, 400 jerkins or coats of mail, 2000 iron skulls, 1000 halberds and brown bills," besides "50 murdering peeces." It has been asserted that some of this armor dated back to the days of Richard III and Henry VII. To this assortment there were added from "Sir Richard Morrison's house" a number of pistols, daggers, calivers, targets, and bucklers, which had been "laid by as altogether unserviceable." In short, with respect to the public store, his Majesty was "graciously" willing to permit, on behalf of the first colony in America, a consignment of such equipment as might have been set aside as antiques. Apparently, no charge was made for these items, but for fifty barrels of serviceable powder, payment was required "at Christmas."³⁶

Parts of a long letter that the Company addressed to the colony

were not particularly creditable to its composers, although such expressions may be excluded on the ground that these much-harassed liberal leaders were impelled in self-protection to lay the blame for the massacre upon the carelessness of the settlers, when, as a matter of fact, the Company was at least equally culpable; since their representatives in the colony, such as George Thorpe, did all they could to calm the apprehensions of the older colonists, in the belief that the savages would accept with joy the proffers of friendship and free education in "civilitie" and the Christian religion.

This letter, dated August 1, 1622, throws light upon the tentative acceptance of the terms of the tobacco contract, and it should be taken into consideration in the discussion of that proposed arrangement. First, the Company explained, in classic understatement, that although "his Majesty and the state" had not set a "liberal hand to the furtherance" of the colony, the tobacco agreement, as proposed, assured such profits to his Majesty that it would closely join "his Majesty's revenue" with the success or failure of the settlers; and that henceforth the king would be inclined to help the colony. As it turned out, the prospect of revenue merely whetted the ambition of James I to proceed to his objective, which was the dissolution of the Company, or at least the overthrow of the "patriot" leaders who had made the revenue possible through maintaining the first overseas expansion of the British realm. In fact, during the discussions that arose in the Company meetings, Edward Rider observed:

The plantations in the West Indies were founded by the kings of Spain out of their own treasury, and revenues; and the state of Spain maintained the garrisons there, together with a great navy for their use and defense, whereas our plantations were both settled and supported by the charge of private adventures.³⁷

Rider might well have added that these private adventurers and the Virginia colonists were actually reversing the Spanish procedure by helping to support the king and the government, particularly through the taxing of Virginia tobacco.

Admitting the lack of funds for providing succor or equipping further groups of "venturers," the Company urged Governor

Wyatt and the Virginia Council to encourage prospective private planters to the utmost of their power, as they themselves were encouraging such "undertakers." This way, they wrote, "we conceive most effectual" for engaging the government's interest and thereby securing Virginia; "for in the multitudes of people is the strength of a kingdom."

In their message of advice and counsel, the Company repeatedly stressed holding and developing the college lands "as a sacred business." The war of vengeance, as proposed by the colonists against the savages, the Company approved, but the leaders did not give up hope for reclaiming future generations of the "infidels." Their words are well worth reproduction, from which it will be seen that, although the savages might engage in a total war for the extermination of all whites, the latter did not intend to retaliate in kind. With respect to the actual perpetrators of the massacre, the letter reads: "We cannot but with much grief proceed to the condemnation of their bodies, the saving of whose souls we have so zealously affected," but "the innocent blood of so many Christians doth in justice cry out for revenge, and your future security in wisdom require" stern measures. In addition, the Company offered "a great and singular reward" for the capture of Opechancanough. Continuing, the letter observed:

Yet remembering who we are, rather than what they have been, we cannot but advise, not only the sparing, but the preservation, of the younger people of both sexes, whose bodies may, by labor and service become profitable, and their minds not overgrown with evil customs, be reduced to civility and afterwards to Christianity. . . . As for those Indians whom God used as instruments of revealing and preventing the total ruin of you all we think a good respect and recompense due unto them, which by a good and careful education of them may best be expressed and satisfied; whereby they be made capable of further benefits and favors.*

In the meantime, the settlers achieved some success in their first counterattacks; but the most effective work was done later when they destroyed Indian crops and villages; so that in the following spring—the customary "starving time" of the usually improvident

**Records*, III, 671-673. The reference to "those Indians" points further to the conclusion that there were other converts, besides Chanco, *supra*, p. 308 ff.

aborigines—we find Chanco bearing a peace plea from Opechancanough to say that his people were famishing.³⁸ “Marches” had been made against the Indians on the upper James, the York, and the Chickahominy. In 1623, Captain Nathaniel West set out against the Appomattox and Wyanoke Indians, Captain William Pierce against the Chickahominies, Captain Isaac Madison against the Great Wyanokes, and Captain William Tucker against the Nansemond Indians. Captain Samuel Mathews attacked the Powhatans; and, while on a voyage up the Potomac, he seized Japazeus, whom he suspected of treachery. Since Japazeus had betrayed Pocahontas, one of his own race, there is good reason to doubt his faith with respect to the English.

Although we know but little of the details of these various punitive expeditions, one particularly notable English success and a counter triumph by the Indians stand out. In the first, the planters applied lessons learned from the treacherous surprises of their foe; for when, in May, 1623, a minor Indian werowance sent word to Governor Wyatt that if his people were permitted to plant corn in safety he would deliver up all English captives, together with Opechancanough, Captain William Tucker, with a number of musqueteers, was sent out in a shallop “under color to make peace.” On the seventh of June, 1623, they arrived at what was supposed to be Opechancanough’s chief seat, where the Indians in considerable numbers met the English on the bank of the river. When some captives had been delivered, the musqueteers were given the word to fire upon the assembled savages, of whom forty fell. One of those slain was at first believed to be Opechancanough, who, however, escaped and lived to instigate a second great attack some twenty years later, the English having again been lulled into a sense of security. The counter victory of the Indians was contrived over so experienced a pioneer as Captain Spelman, who with twenty-odd settlers, had gone among them. Under circumstances strongly reminiscent of the betrayal of Captain John Ratcliffe and his party some fourteen years before, Spelman and all his men were slain or captured.

The death of Captain Spelman brings to mind Thomas Savage, another English pioneer youth. The latter likewise had become a valuable interpreter through having lived at some length with the

Indians; and he was mentioned in the only known war chant of the Virginia Algonkians, the words thereof having been preserved by Secretary Strachey, from which the following lines are taken:

Matanerew shashashewaw erawango pechecoma
 Thom Newport inoshashaw neir inhoc natian moncock;
 Whe whe, yah hah nehe wittowa, wittowa.*

The chant gave the name of the youth as Thom *Newport*, for the natives had been told he was a son of the admiral of Virginia. The song boasts of the slaying of Captain William West, nephew of Lord Delaware and of other *Tassantasses*, or Englishmen; and that the Indians had accomplished this despite the shining sword of Thom Newport. The final verse of each of the song's four stanzas was by way of a refrain which mocked the cries of English captives, who were unable to endure in silent stoicism the frightful tortures inflicted by the savages.

Thomas Savage must have made a good impression upon the Indians, for he was called "son" by both Powhatan and Debedeavon. Opechancanough, however, seems not to have fancied Powhatan's liking for the white youth, who prudently moved to the Eastern Shore following a dispute in which he and three others had offered to fight some thirteen Indians, a challenge which was refused. He also attracted the favorable attention of Captain John Martin, William Strachey, and John Pory, all of whom mention him in their correspondence. Pory's statement is brief, but comprehensively laudatory, in which he wrote that Ensign Savage "with much honestie and successe served the publike, without any publike recompense, yet had an arrow shot through his body in their service." Debedeavon did better for son Thom by granting him in 1619 a large tract of "land lying between Cheriton Creek and King's Creek," which became known as Savage's Neck. A few years later, Thomas married Hannah Tyng, evidently a maiden of some means in her own right, since

* Cf. Strachey, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80. The words of this Indian chant were submitted for translation to Dr. Frank G. Speck; and in a letter to the author, June 25, 1941, Dr. Speck wrote: "Unfortunately we have only the distantly related Delaware language to check it with. Also, considering the unfamiliarity of the early narrators with the *grammar* and *idiom* of native tongues, we can only approximate the meaning of their notations . . . the white man's equivalent in broken Indian."

in 1621 she had "transported herself" and was granted a patent for fifty acres on the Eastern Shore.³⁹

THE KING ATTACKS THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

Leaving the affairs of the colony in order to follow the story of the London Company, whose dissolution was now forecast by the proceedings of James I, it is necessary to review a number of happenings that indicated the hostility of the king before the suit was entered. Although James, by thinly veiled threats against individuals and by imposing well-nigh confiscatory restrictions upon Virginia tobacco, had attempted to browbeat the patriot majority, he was, nevertheless, unable, as late as May, 1622, to secure the election of his own nominees; for the Earl of Southampton was continued in office as president or treasurer. In the election upon this date, Alderman Hamersly "rose up" to say that he "and Mr. Bell were commanded by Mr. Secretary Calvert" on behalf of the king to present some names in the proposed election of the "treasurer," or president, and of his "deputy," or vice-president. But for the secret balloting box, many members must have feared to vote their choice in the matter. As it turned out, the king's nominees received but twenty votes, as against one hundred and seventeen cast for Southampton. For deputy, Nicholas Ferrar likewise received an overwhelming majority over the king's candidates, the same being one hundred and thirteen to fifteen,⁴⁰ all of which indicated the hold that the liberal leaders held upon the membership, despite the influences brought to bear by the king, the Warwick group, and sundry wealthy merchants and London politicians led or inspired by Sir Thomas Smith and Aldermen Johnson and Hamersly.

When Lord Cavendish, one of the patriot majority, informed his Majesty of the result, James I reiterated just what the opposition leaders were continually asserting—that the government of the colony should be in the hands of merchants. To this Cavendish replied that, although his Majesty had indicated the likelihood of the production of a greater variety of commodities through such direction, the results in this particular had been no different under the greatest merchant of them all; *viz.*, Sir Thomas Smith.

As an incidental outcome of this argument, Cavendish took up the cudgels for Sir Edwin Sandys, whereupon the Earl of Warwick gave Cavendish the lie. A challenge followed, and the Privy Council ordered all ports watched to prevent the pair from reaching Holland, where they had planned to fight it out. Warwick succeeded in getting across the Channel, but Cavendish was put under arrest. In the meantime, it was reported that their wives did not forget "their old familiarity, but went daily, to lament their misfortune" as they met to engage in a mutually helpful conspiracy to keep their husbands from meeting—at a duelling rendezvous.

After having harassed and handicapped the Company in many ways, the king now planned either to abolish it outright or to award a new charter to the "court party" under the old form. Thereupon the Company had to face a series of interferences, from the confinement of several of its liberal leaders to vexatious restrictions and intolerable imposts proposed for colonial crops, all of which were accompanied by what the post-dissolution "Discourse" called the public "disreputation" given the business and its management. Sir Thomas Smith, the Earl of Warwick, and Samuel Argall, now knighted, were in the background as Alderman Johnson prepared evidence to justify the king in the course now proposed. This evidence and its rebuttal were handled in partisan fashion by the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer and a member of the Privy Council, who had grossly deceived the Sandys-Southampton group by pretending to seek the welfare of the Company in urging the tobacco contract. Alderman Johnson petitioned his Majesty to appoint a committee to investigate conditions in Virginia; and a convenient "witness" was at hand in the person of Captain Nathaniel Butler, recently governor of Bermuda, collaborator with Warwick and Argall in the effort to use both colonies as ports for piratical expeditions on the Spanish Main. Butler had avoided facing charges of maladministration in Bermuda; and from there, presumably at the behest of the Warwick-Smith group, he had gone to Jamestown. Although he had no particular credentials from Crown or Company, he acted as an official investigator and was indignant that he was not allowed to sit with the colonial Council. Returning to England in 1623, he came forth

with charges entitled "The Unmasking of Virginia." Apparently in return for this alleged exposé, he was rewarded by the king with a place on the subsequently appointed Virginia Commission (*infra*, p. 322); and, with Argall, he received promotion and high command in the royal service.*

Butler's "Unmasking" was a fault-finding presentation; and although it was viciously partisan, it nevertheless had disagreeable truths in it. Blunders had been made through sheer inexperience on the part of both venturers and adventurers. Butler first charged that fortifications were lacking for defense against a foreign foe—a charge that came with especially bad grace from him since he, with Warwick and Argall, had been guilty of provoking the Spaniards. Again, the charge that Jamestown was an unhealthful spot was hardly the fault of the Company, which had recommended removal of the capital to a better site. That it remained at the site first selected was not the part of wisdom, but rather a symbol of the dogged pertinacity of the Englishman. As previously stated, the Company was, in the matter of guarding against the Indians, partly to blame, since its leaders had looked more to the civilizing and conversion of the savages than they had to providing protection for the settlers. For the former purpose they had raised thousands of pounds, while there had been no like appeal for arms—at least not until James I was asked to furnish antiquated armor out of the Tower.

The "Unmasking" concluded: "It may undoubtedly be expected that unless the confusions and private ends of some of the Company here, and the bad executions in seconding them by their agents there, be redressed with speed by some divine and supreme hand, that instead of a plantation, it will shortly get the name of a slaughter house."

The reference to the "private ends of some of the Company"

* There is no good reason to doubt the testimony against Middlesex as shown in the "Discourse of the Old Company." His subsequent conviction for bribe-taking makes it easier to believe in the truth of the Company's accusations of what would now be called double-crossing. To quote: "The instruments in this worke that especially appeared were the then Sir Lionel Cranfield, Mr. Jacob and some others, to the extreame damage of the Company, enrichment of themselves, and deceyt of his Majestie," *cf.* reprint in Tyler, *Narratives*, *op. cit.*, p. 446. The given title of Butler's paper is "The Unmasked face of our Colony in Virginia as it was in the Winter of the year 1622" (1622-1623).—*Records*, II, 374-376.

was not a case of the pot calling the kettle black, for no fair comparison may be made between the selfish ambitions of sundry leaders of the opposition faction and the demonstrated idealism of the "patriot" leaders. The Butler call for "some divine and supreme hand" meant the hand of James I, and his Majesty was quick to admit the identity.

Alderman Robert Johnson's "humble petition" to the king was a distortion of the records. He began correctly enough with a reference to the establishment of the colony at great cost to the adventurers without "any present hope" of returns on the outlay.

With regard to the preparation of their respective complaints, there is no direct evidence of collusion between Butler and Johnson, yet the latter also refers to the need of a "supreme hand" to take over the "action," and the meat of both coconuts is to be found in the direct request that the king should appoint a special commission of inquiry into the state of the colony with a view to removing these defects.⁴¹ It is not unthinkable that his Majesty had encouraged and was expecting some such petition or request. In any event, he acted promptly upon it; and with the appointment of the Commission, the fate of the Virginia-London Company was as surely sealed as was that of Sir Walter Raleigh when charges were preferred against him some five years before.

The first step towards the dissolution of the Company—whether dissolution was originally intended, or whether the king was seeking to put the Company again under the control of a royally appointed body—was the appointment by the Privy Council of a special Commission, presided over by Sir William Jones, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In the meantime, the business of the Company was, in effect, placed in the hands of the Commission as receivers. The outgoing letters of the Company officials were subjected to censorship, in order, it was asserted, to avoid any expression of opinion that would serve to alarm the colonists. Meanwhile, the settlers were assured by the Privy Council of "his Majesty's pious and princely care of them"; and they were instructed "to go on cheerfully in the work" before them.

The royal Commission spent much of two months (May and June, 1623) going through the documents and papers of the doomed Company. Particularly damaging in the eyes of a hostile

court was the comparison made between the letters of the planters concerning material affairs and the public statements of the Company, in which Company officials at times had not unnaturally attempted to suppress bad news, while they had, for the better encouragement of prospective venturers and adventurers, laid undue emphasis upon the good.

Captain John Smith as a witness for the prosecution expressed his disapproval of a "multiplicity of opinions" in the colony, a criticism that may have referred to the institution of the General Assembly; for he had no regard for popular government. He reiterated what both friends and foes of the Company had said in the matter of transporting fresh venturers and new tenants without proper provision having been made for them: "For who here in England," he declared, "is so charitable to feed two or three strangers, have they never so much; much less in Virginia, where they want for themselves."⁴² Here Smith put his finger upon the first mistake of the overzealous Sandys, who, at the beginning of his administration, evoked the constructive criticism of Governor Yeardley, above quoted. He closed with the thought that if the king were disposed to change the patent, he "may, if he please . . . rather take it from them that hath it than from those who had it first." Smith thus shrewdly suggested to the Commission what the king wanted to do; *viz.*, overthrow the Sandys-Southampton faction, representing the great majority of those conducting Virginia affairs, and substitute therefor the Sir Thomas Smith-Johnson group.

One of the charges brought against Sandys was the perfectly true one to the effect that he had encouraged the Separatists in the Netherlands to go to Virginia. Specifically, he was accused of writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury for that churchman's endorsement of the plan to repatriate these exiled Englishmen in Virginia and to allow them to set up there what government they desired; and, inferentially, any form of religion they wished.*

* In the eyes of James I, the "Pilgrim Fathers" were undesirables. He took pride in having them harried out of England, even though he was later persuaded to permit their transportation to Virginia. In the words of Governor Bradford: "Thus farr they [the 'cheef' men of the London Company] prevailed, in sounding his Majesties mind, that he would connive at them, & not molest them, provided they carried themselves peacably. But to allow or tolerate them by his publick authoritie, under his seale, they found it would not be."—*Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation," op. cit., p. 38.*

REACTIONARY GROUPS

In the London Company the minority opposition accepted aid from any quarter, whether it be the national enemy, Spain,* or native Englishmen. Among the Virginia pioneers, the Sandys group encountered a persistent litigant in Captain John Martin, who fought for the special privileges which he claimed through an early grant from James I. While he had appeared reconciled to yielding his "rights" that had been challenged by the first General Assembly, he threw what testimony he could against the Company, or against its liberal leaders. Martin's stand meant more than that of the average planter in that he had behind him the influence of Sir Julius Cæsar, his brother-in-law, whose Venetian father, Cæsar Adelmare (Aldemarius) had been physician to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. Again, Captain Martin's father, Sir Richard Martin, was Master of the Mint; and, as an alderman of London, he was probably on intimate terms with the former deputy treasurer, Alderman Johnson, and the king's other henchman in the Company, Alderman Hamersly.

Like Captain Smith, Martin was an unusual character. Without having Smith's venturesome nature, he was equally contentious. Martin also testified against the Sandys-Southampton group; and in doing so, he proposed a way out through establishing what he called a "Royall plantation." He began by declaring "That part of Virginia within which we are seated" is "fit to be settled on for many hundred years," a prediction that is, to date, apparently justified. He called Opechancanough a "revolted Indian king," and he thought James I should take over the thirty-two tribal kingdoms allegedly under the werowance by making them over into thirty-two shires. Thereupon, it would be a simple matter for thirty-two shires in England respectively to appropriate these kingdoms by furnishing one hundred men a shire, or share, to go and possess them. These one hundred men per shire were to be mere tenants under "some Noble General" laboring for the good

* Besides numerous references to Gondomar's activities in Peckard's *Ferrar*, there is an interesting but largely unsubstantiated partisan account in "A Choice Narrative of Count Gondomar's Transactions during his Embassy in England. By that Renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton" (London, 1659). For a reprint see George Smeeton's *Tracts* (Westminster, 1820).

of the mother shire in England. Captain Martin declared that the English parent shires "may in one year, with God's blessing, have their principal stock back again" with interest yearly on the investment, and never at further expense.

In the litigation brought against the Company, the rulings of the Privy Council uniformly favored the Warwick party, for whom the Earl of Warwick's cousin, Sir Nathaniel Rich, acted as counsel in the attack upon the "patriot" majority. The latter were accused of being offensively personal in their charges, so that personalities were forbidden under an order against "provocations tending to revive and kindle former heats and distractions"; albeit it is difficult to conceive of the gentle and spiritual-minded Nicholas Ferrar being put under arrest for riotous language or behavior. In the course of proceedings, we find a charge that the reflections upon the Earl of Warwick had been heightened because behind a "latticed gallery" spectators had been admitted, including some ladies, which arouses speculation as to whether there were among the latter those good friends, the Countess of Warwick and the Lady Cavendish, the wives of would-be duellist husbands.*

There is no need here to go into details as to the proposed plans for the reorganization of the Company according to the ideas advanced by the Privy Council and prompted by James I. The Company was called upon to give up its charter, and his Majesty indicated, at this time, that he would issue a new one under which the king would appoint the personnel of the governing Council. Of most importance to the colonists, however, was the fact that there was no provision for self-government by the General Assembly. That body was ignored, and it was most fortunate for the further development of democratic processes in Virginia that James died before he could put into effect his plans for absolute colonial control by the Crown.

In the considerable group that constituted the royal Commission of investigation and management *ad interim*, the "patriot party" in the Company was not represented. On the contrary, we find on the Commission such of their personal enemies and political foes

* Cf. *Records*, IV, 170-171; 182, CCCXLIV, CCCXLVIII. The Sandys group protested that the charges against Warwick, Argall, and Butler necessarily concerned their acts as individuals, and any evidence offered as to them might therefore be interpreted as "tending only to defamation."

as former Deputy Governor Argall and Nathaniel Butler. Besides Sir Thomas Smith and Alderman Johnson, we also find those two persistent critics, Samuel Wrote and Sir Thomas Wroth, in addition to the leader of the prosecution, Sir Nathaniel Rich.

Regardless of the many contrasts between the court party and the liberal leaders of the London Company, it does not follow that all the former were unpatriotic, illiberal, or self-seeking. For instance, in the following decade, Sir George Calvert projected the proprietary Province of Maryland on a fair basis of liberalism in matters political and on an exceptionally broad basis in matters of conscience. Again, Sir Julius Cæsar, though no liberal in political concepts, may be regarded as a philanthropist by reason of his many personal charities. In fine, it was fortunate that a considerable number of persons were named on the Commission, for among them were found good counsellors. It is significant that meetings for the conduct of Virginia business were again held in the ample rooms of Sir Thomas Smith's London mansion. Sir Thomas, however, did not long survive his triumph, for he died at his house in Tunbridge the year after the overthrow of the Sandys-Southampton party.

On May 24, 1624, seventeen years almost to the day after the first colonists landed at Jamestown, the decree of dissolution was issued, and the career of the London-Virginia Company was ended. Insofar as material returns to the adventurers or stockholders were concerned, it had failed. But the mere lack of dividends, a point of passing concern, was offset by achievements of lasting importance, for their colonial experiment established far-reaching precedents. In ground prepared by them, the Company leaders had sown the seeds of liberty and local self-government for an entire continent. In short, the proceedings of the London Company, from its origin to its dissolution, are part of the history of America.*

* It should be noted that the "patriot party" petitioned Parliament to intervene, a daring move which James I promptly met with a warning that this was a matter for the Crown to decide and that the Parliament should keep hands off. As at the reading of the onerous terms of the proposed tobacco contract and other interferences with the liberty in the case of the Company, there was a prolonged silence in the Commons upon the reading of the king's message. Some "soft" murmurings of discontent were noted; but the House yielded the point, doubtless because they had weighty grievances at home. There should be included in the Sandys-Southampton-Ferrar-Cavendish group other liberal spirits such as Sir Edwin Sackville, Sir John Danvers, and the Earl of Pembroke. These were also active in defense of the principles and practices of the "patriot" leaders.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IGNORED

The news of the proceedings against the London Company caused no little consternation in Virginia, where the colonists were suddenly brought to an appreciation of the privileges that had been accorded them under the liberal policies of the Sandys-Southampton management. In fact, this feeling of alarm was so well understood in England that it was thought necessary to forbid the sailing of any vessels to Virginia ahead of the dispatch of the newly constituted colonial authorities. The order was, however, evaded; and the disturbing news of the proposed change reached Virginia first, together with a copy of Butler's "Unmasking." Furthermore, Nicholas Ferrar was, according to his brother John, accused before the Privy Council of having sent messages exhorting the colonists not to consent to giving up their patent.

In the autumn of 1623, when the king could muster only seven to nine votes in the Company for the surrender of the charter, the Privy Council, instead of proceeding at once with the process of dissolving the Company, had felt obliged to make the gesture of first sending a special commission to the colony to secure a report on conditions there. This body, like the one which had investigated the affairs of the Company, was determined to find material indicative of failure, regardless of circumstances. It was headed by John Harvey and described as "certayne obscure persons" that "were found out by the Earle of Middlesex."⁴³

Since, in the plan for resumption of royal control, there was no provision made for the continuance of the General Assembly, its members had drafted a petition to the king, together with a remonstrance to the Privy Council, in which it was stated that they had "in due submission to your Lordships published your orders sent over by Mr. Pory, whereby we understand his Majesty's intention in changing the government of this colony." They added: "We are ignorant of the dangers and ruins that might have befallen us by the continuance" of the former government—a significant comment, since the settlers, as the ones supposedly experiencing the "ruins" from which his Majesty would rescue them, were in the best position to pass on the matter. They humbly desired that the Governor sent over might not have "absolute authority"

and that he should be restrained by his Council, "which title we desire may be retained to the honor of this Plantation and not converted to the names of his Assistants." Above all, they asked that they "may retain the liberty of our General Assembly, than which nothing can more conduce to our satisfaction" and the public good.⁴⁴

While this commission was, with the cooperation of the colonial government, gathering data, the Assembly was preparing its own report on the state of the colony, which they determined to send to England by John Pountis. Harvey, however, had, with the connivance of Secretary Pory, succeeded in bribing Edward Sharpless, Clerk of the General Assembly, to disclose its contents. For this betrayal of trust it was ordered that the clerk should stand in the pillory and have his ears nailed thereto and cut off.*

After the Assembly had agreed to facilitate the investigations, double dealing was charged against the commission with regard to the commissioners' "voluntary promise" to present their "conceptions" to the Assembly, "which being since demanded, was denied." Among those who signed this letter were Governor Wyatt, Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys, and Ralph Hamor.⁴⁵

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

With respect to casualties set down as those "dead en route or in Virginia," some account should be taken of the loss of entire ships. In the Gates-Somers fleet of nine vessels we know that one disappeared with all on board; and we know that another, the *Sea Venture*, was wrecked, though its passengers were saved. Mention has been made of the fortunate rescue of the vessel that had been seized by the Turks, which introduces the menace of capture by pirates. Again, a casual reference to a proposed seizure by an English rover is found in the comment of one Captain Kirby

* The ear clipping would not have been regarded as a barbarous penalty in England at this period; but harsh Old World laws and customs were generally subject to amelioration in the colony; and the execution of the order was tempered with mercy since it was recorded Sharpless lost only a "piece of one of his ears." Pory was protected by powerful friends in England; but the Virginia Assembly consigned him to punishment in history by virtue of a letter to the Earl of Southampton which declared that since he had been discovered in the act of suborning, "the Privy Council" should "give small credit to any his particular informations."

at the "Savage Islands," or the Bahamas, where rovers gathered. Kirby coolly remarked to Captain John Powell that "if he had known so many" of the crew of Powell's ships, the *Bona Nova*, were on land at the time in question, he "would have carried her away without fail." This was late in 1619, and had Master Kirby gone off with the *Bona Nova* he would have intercepted one hundred tenants for the college and Company land, together with considerable church silver and furnishings.⁴⁶

Again, there was the ever-present danger of attack by Spaniards, for which the English mariners were usually prepared. When, for example, the *Margaret and John*, with 103 men, women, and children, stopped over at the island of Nevis for fresh water, two large vessels flying the Dutch flag bore down upon them. Changing to their own ensign, the Spaniards suddenly fired upon the "small and not very well provided English ship." Thereupon followed a fight lasting "five or six hours most desperate," the Spanish foe having four times the tonnage and nine times the armament of brass guns against old cast-iron pieces. The colonial physician-general, Dr. Lawrence Bohun, returning to Virginia, was among the Englishmen slain in the encounter, of which there were several accounts written in England and Holland, one being by Thomas Hothersall, who described himself as "an I witness." The Spaniards were finally beaten off with heavy losses. The *Margaret and John* bore much silkworm seed, which appears to have "miscarried," perhaps because of the shock of the combat—an outcome which directly concerned his Majesty, as the seed was from the royal stock and was attended by one Jasper Stalleng, who had been engaged for silk culture in Virginia under a three-year contract.⁴⁷

At least one vessel is known to have burned. This was the *Seaflower*, which had set out for Virginia via the Bermudas; and the supplies it carried in the spring of 1623 were badly needed.

In December, 1621, Governor Butler of Bermuda had sent two large cedar chests filled with figs, pomegranates, oranges, potatoes, lemons, sugar cane and other products. In return, a "barque" was dispatched to Bermuda laden with "aquavitae, sack, oil, and bricks," the last-named commodity further indicating that the building of more substantial houses had set in. The barque re-

turned the following June with limestone, potatoes, ducks, turkeys and so forth.⁴⁸

But for the lure of the soil in the raising of tobacco, Virginia might have turned to maritime pursuits somewhat in the manner of the New England colonies; for we find notices of a number of voyages to Bermuda and along the Atlantic coast. There was a trial shipment of tobacco northward in exchange for fish; the voyage of Marmaduke Rayner southward towards Roanoke Island; and another by Thomas Dermer to Cape Cod. Dermer explored the Delaware and Hudson rivers. He reported finding many Dutch ships doing a great trade in furs;⁴⁹ and he strongly recommended that the Virginians should participate therein. As Argall had seized the French in the northern parts of Virginia, so Dermer might have attempted to drive out the Dutch; but, besides being wounded in an affray with the Indians, it was recorded he "had the misfortune to fall sick and die of the infirmity many of our Nation are subject to at their first coming into these parts."⁵⁰ That the early fur trade was beginning to attract attention was further indicated by the explorations of Thomas Savage of the Eastern Shore. Savage returned from the upper parts of the Chesapeake Bay with accounts of the French traffic in the north; and the long-hidden "Sackville Papers" disclose that as early as 1614 the *Treasurer* had returned to London with beaver, otter, and "wild catt" skins, in addition to its principal cargo of some thirteen tons of "cedar tree tymber."⁵¹

The story of these voyages may well have stirred the imagination of the highly energetic William Claiborne, who arrived in the colony the following year, and who eventually undertook to dispute with Lord Baltimore the northward trade via the Susquehanna. Even the urbane Mr. Pory was fired with the desire for exploration, and he boldly struck out overland towards the Roanoke country, going as far south as the present Chowan river. He also made a trip across the bay where he visited the werowance Debedeavon;⁵² and perhaps the best illustration of the spirit of the independent venturing of "indentures" found expression on the Eastern Shore. Here Pory had received an allotment of land on which tenants had been placed to provide revenue for his office, especially through trafficking for furs. The plan in view was

the establishment of a closely knit settlement, where the laborers were to help develop this traffic with the Indians; but within a year, out of a possible hundred tenants, only nine were left. Life on the Shore was easy to maintain, game and fish were plentiful, while the natives were for the most part friendly, with the result that many of the English tenants refused to stay bound in labor for others where they could so readily fend for themselves.

CONTACTS WITH THE PLYMOUTH COLONY

On his way back to London, Pory visited the colony at Plymouth, which he highly praised as to site and settlers. As Governor Bradford observed: "Him selfe after his returne did this poore plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck." Bradford had particularly in mind, no doubt, Pory's patron, the Earl of Warwick; and possibly Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was always interested in the development of New England.⁵³

It may be added that about the time Pory was being taken back to England in the *Discovery*—which was under the command of Thomas Jones, former master of the *Mayflower*—Captain John Huddleston visited the Plymouth colony. Finding the settlers on starvation rations, he supplied them with Virginia corn. As Bradford expressed it: "Amids these streighths, and the desertion of those from whom they had hoped for supply, and when famine begane now to pinch them sore, they not knowing what to doe, the Lord, (who never fails his), presents them with an occasion, beyond all expectation." Bradford added that what food Huddleston was able to spare "upheld them till harvest." Huddleston had dropped by, as it were, to tell his "good freinds at Plimoth" of the massacre in Virginia and by repeating "the old rule which I learned when I went to schoole" to warn them that "hapie is he whom other mens harmes doth make to beware."*

There were sundry other points of contact between the Plymouth group and their fellow-countrymen established in the Chesapeake region, but the "Pilgrims" were careful about forming any

* *History "Of Plimoth Plantation,"* pp. 150-151. One may surmise that Captain Huddleston was a reader of Shakespeare, since his salutation "Friends, cuntrimen, and neighbors" was not unlike Mark Antony's in *Julius Cæsar*.

close associations. This attitude was shown in the Separatists' original stipulation with the Virginia-London Company that they should seat themselves at a considerable distance from the first colony—the better to ensure their freedom from Anglican interference. That the Company leaders appreciated the nature of this caution is indicated by their encouragement of the separatists with whom they had a bond of sympathy because of a common opposition to the absolutism of James I.*

This sympathy was also felt in Virginia, where the ministers sent out by the London-Virginia Company held broad views as to church forms and ceremonies. In the letters of the Reverend Alexander Whitaker we find the expression that "neither surplice nor subscription was spoken of"⁵⁴ in the colony—an indirect invitation to non-conformists to settle at Jamestown, which Whitaker described as "the first and Mother-Christian Towne."⁵⁵ Later, the Reverend Patrick Copeland, rector designate of the proposed college at Henrico, corresponded regularly with John Winthrop, "Governor of Boston."⁵⁶

Other early intercolonial contacts in personnel call for mention. For example, Christopher Martin, governor† on the *Mayflower*, owned land in Virginia, which he purchased from a former president of the Virginia Council, Captain George Percy. He was also a member of the London-Virginia Company. While no connection has been established between Elder William Brewster of the Plymouth congregation and Captain Edward Brewster of Jamestown, we know that Edward Litster, a servant of Stephen Hopkins, "after he was set at liberty, went to Virginia and ther died,"⁵⁷ probably a victim of the General Massacre of 1622.⁵⁸ An-

* At Concord, New Hampshire, on the three hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the signing of the Mayflower Compact, Professor Morison observed: "We should not forget the deep debt that the Pilgrims owed to the Virginia Company of London," whose liberal leaders had been laboring on behalf of "the first English colony on the Chesapeake, with a courage and idealism that New-Englanders are too prone to regard as exclusively theirs." It was through Sir Edwin Sandys' "good offices the Pilgrims and the London merchants associated with them obtained from the Company a patent establishing them as a Virginia Hundred. . . . The text of this patent has never been found, and probably is lost forever."—Address by Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Pilgrim Fathers, Their Significance in History" (Concord, 1937), p. 8.

† See references, *History "Of Plimoth Plantation,"* Massachusetts Historical Society, (Boston, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 117 n., 136 n., 192 n. The term "governor" was used to signify a representative of the adventurers who had secured and equipped the vessel.

other relationship is found in the activities of the London merchant, Thomas Weston, one of the "adventurers" who helped equip the *Mayflower*. Weston owned the *Charity*, which brought to Virginia some thirty persons in the summer of 1622. The ship came by New England, as did his other ship, the *Sparrow*. The latter vessel and the fish she brought from the northern coast seem to have been sold in Virginia.⁵⁹ Finally, in the fall of 1624, Weston himself arrived in the *Swan* and invested in Virginia land. William Davison, secretary to his Majesty, had been a friend and patron of William Brewster of Plymouth; and Davison's son, Christopher, served under Governor Wyatt as colonial secretary in Virginia. Governor Bradford also tells at some length of the visits of Captain Francis West of the Council at Jamestown. West first arrived at Plymouth in June, 1623, having "a commission to be admirall of New-England." He had been directed to drive away interlopers in the northern waters; but he "found the fisher men to be stuberne fellows."⁶⁰

COLONIAL COURTS AND CUSTOMS

As early as 1619 Governor Yeardley had instituted monthly courts, and it was arranged that the Council should hold sessions four times a year, at which times matters of importance were to be considered, with "redress of general and particular grievances." The sessions corresponded to the seasons, and were to last a full week on each occasion; and it may be added that these courts were set up under the terms of the Great Charter, which had directed the calling of the General Assembly. On the installation of Sir Francis Wyatt in November, 1621, George Sandys was installed as the first colonial treasurer and Christopher Davison as secretary. Dr. John Pott succeeded Dr. Lawrence Bohun as the leading physician. Arriving with two chirurgeons and a chest of medicines and implements, Pott (or Potts) proved to be a many-sided character, with both good and bad qualities. With him came, as surveyor, William Claiborne, who likewise was to play a prominent part in colonial affairs. Sir William Newce, another recent venturer, had been given the title of marshal. Two ministers also arrived, the Reverends Hawte Wyatt and Francis Bolton. Wyatt's Council con-

sisted of nineteen persons, of whom the more notable were Sir George Yeardley; Captain Francis West; Sir William Newce; George Sandys; Dr. Pott; George Thorpe, acting for the college; Captain Thomas Newce, deputy for the Company's land; Secretary Davison; John Rolfe, and Ralph Hamor, former secretaries; John Pountis; and John Berkeley.

Although Jamestown had, it seems, proved the most unhealthy spot in the colony, the settlers clung to it; and since it was now dignified as the seat of the General Assembly, it was thought fitting for the delegates, the Council, and visitors, domestic or overseas, to depend no longer on local hospitality, so the colony set up a "faire Inne," which was built at an outlay estimated at nearly two thousand pounds.

Despite hardships, life at Jamestown had a bright side. We find Governor and Lady Wyatt entertaining new arrivals, while George Sandys burned the candle, or its equivalent, in "Englishing" Ovid's verse, with the thought of his fellow-poets in England encouraging him to evoke the Muse in Virginia. None other than the much-travelled Mr. Secretary Pory recorded that life on the border of the primeval forest was not only endurable but actually agreeable. "At my first coming," he wrote:

The solitary uncouthness of this place, compared with those parts of Christendom or Turkey where I had been; and likewise my being sequestred from all occurrences and passages which are so rife there, did not little vex me. . . . At length being hardened to this custom of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to mind my business here, and next after my pen, to have some good book always in store, being in solitude the best and choicest company. Besides among those cristal rivers, and odoriferous woods I do escape much expense, envy, contempt, vanity, and vexation of mind.*

While Pory's reference to "some good book in store" hardly indicates a library, it does point to literature other than the Scriptures, which were read to, and interpreted for, Japazeus, Opechan-canough, Debedeavon, and other Indians. In a letter from London we find the expression: "As for books, we doubt not but you will

* *Records*, III, p. 222. Pory ventured the opinion regarding "the quality of this country," that "three things there be, which in few years may bring this colony to perfection; the English plow, vineyards, and cattle."—*Records*, III, p. 220.

be able to supply them out of the libraries of so many that have died." In a long list of articles sent to George Harrison via the *Marmaduke*, we find, "For books purchased for himself" an account equivalent to one hundred and thirty dollars. This was a direct order from the planter, regardless of whether Harrison's brother in England supplied the remainder of the shipment or not.⁶¹

Pory's comments on colonial life are significant, since this quondam member of Parliament was hardly of the stuff from which pioneers were made. That he customarily put his personal interests first was well illustrated when Governor Yeardley had sought the secretaryship for him. With respect to his prospective remuneration, Pory had written that the Company leaders were "As dry as pumice-stones," and that he, at least, was unwilling to adventure his "carcase in so dangerous a business for nothing." He sought to have his salary paid in cash, but finally accepted land and tenants in return for his services, while he secretly served the Earl of Warwick.

The Yeardley-Wyatt period marked the rapid evolution of private plantations, financed either by the venturers themselves, or by friends in England. An important new planter was Daniel Gookin, who, with Captain Thomas Newce and Sir William Newce, came to Virginia from Newce's Town in Ireland.⁶² Gookin was far-sighted, and by bringing over "forty young cattle" and some eighty venturers, he secured a large grant. "According to their desire," Governor Wyatt "seated them at Newports Newce." Since it seems that all came from County Cork, the Governor called it an "Irish plantation" and he expressed the hope that more people from Ireland would "like to come hither." While this expansion of settlements on the Chesapeake estuaries was taking place, the colonists found a fair trade in the domain of the Laughing King on the Eastern Shore; and Sir George Yeardley was one of the early settlers to secure a plantation across the Chesapeake.

It appears from the minutes of the London Company, together with such court records as were preserved in Virginia, that the Company was considerate of the interests of the widows of the men who served the colony, such as Lady Delaware and the wives of Sir Thomas Dale and Christopher Newport. In July, 1621,

Admiral Newport's widow was granted three shares. Although this grant was in return for having adventured six persons at her own charge, the Company took pains to send special directions through Governor Wyatt and Captain Ralph Hamor as to laying out the widow's land.

With the constant arrival of new settlers and the equally constant casualties by disease and violence, it is impossible accurately to estimate the population at any given period in early Virginia history. This difficulty is due partly to the fact that the number of settlers became a matter of sharp dispute between the parties in the London Company. Hence the estimates of population at the end of Sir Thomas Smith's administration varied from about 400 to 1300; however, the colonial census of March, 1620, indicated that the number of settlers was then 887; and it appears that there were between 700 and 750 in Virginia at the beginning of the Sandys administration in 1619. Many of these were seasoned and, therefore, partly immune to the customary agues and fevers. However, the references to malarial symptoms must not be interpreted as ascribing the mortality to malaria alone. One vessel, though arriving in the autumn, was reported as having introduced a veritable pestilence. As George Sandys wrote: "A pestilent fever rageth this winter amongst us, never known before in Virginia, by the infected people that came over in the *Abigail*." The reference to this ship suggests a contrast between her voyage and that of the *Bona Nova* of some 200 tons, the first vessel to reach Virginia under the Sandys administration. The *Bona Nova* had arrived in the fall of 1619 and aroused particular comment in that every one was well and remained so until the following summer.*

"MARCHES" AGAINST THE INDIANS

In the three years immediately following the massacre there were a number of "marches" against the Indians. On December 2, 1624, Governor Wyatt reported: "It hath pleased God this year to

* That the infected people who came over in the *Abigail* and similarly affected ships may have been suffering from typhus is strongly suggested by reading comments in personal letters of Colonel Edgar Erskine Hume of the Medical Corps, United States Army, as also his monograph, "Fighting Typhus Fever in Serbia," in the April, 1938, issue of *Medical Life*, Vol. XLV, No. 4, New Series Issue, pp. 97-124.

give us a great victory over Otiotan and the Pamunkeys, with their confederates, by a handful, being in all not above 60 fighting men, whereof 24 were employed only in cutting down of corn." The "march" was led by Wyatt; and on this occasion the Indians put up their first sustained fight, which may well be called the Battle of Pamunkey. The battle lasted over "two days together," much of which was in the "open field." Finally, it was reported that "they gave over fighting and dismayedly stood most ruthfully looking on while their corn was cut down."

The English must have been protected by the ancient armor graciously granted by his Majesty; but their powder supply was insufficient, else they had "hazarded" similar treatment to "all those nations." In this expedition, sixteen of the English were hurt and "nine of our best shot were made unserviceable." The account added that "the Indians were never known to shew so great resolution, either encouraged by the paucity of ours or their own great numbers, there being of the Pamunkeys eight hundred bowmen, besides divers nations that came to assist them, fighting not only for safeguard of their houses and such a huge quantity of corn, but for their reputation with the rest of the savages: which we now hope they have lost, it depending much upon the success of this action." *

Despite this notable victory, the secret alarm of the colonists must have been great, for the Council reported that the supply of powder was "not sufficient to maintain our plantations" should the Indians make "any attempt upon us." They added in their plea that it was December and no supply ship had come. From now on, however, with the London Company in dissolution, they began to realize that they must buy or supply their own munitions. During the General Massacre, the Indians had seized much powder; and it was reported that their "king caused the most of it to be sown, to draw therefrom the like increase, as of his maize in harvest next."

On the Indian side there were many minor raids by the savages,

* *Records*, IV, 507-508. There is here a suggestion of the oriental idea described as "losing face." The Pamunkeys lost face after they had loudly boasted what they would do to the "Tassantasses." In the words of the report, this tribe had "made great braggs of what they would do, among the northern nations, of whom the king of Patuxent sent an Indian, to be an eye witness of the event."

notably one at the promising Gookin plantation, where it was reported that "of all Mr. Gookin's men which he sent out the last year, we found but seven—the rest being all killed by the Indians." Edward Hill wrote from as far east as Elizabeth City that he had lost the modern equivalent of three thousand dollars' worth of cattle. In the phraseology of George Sandys, the natives were "as swift as roebucks"; and "like violent lightning, they are gone as soon as perceived." So great was their menace by ambush or under cover of darkness that at Jamestown a guard was put on at night, the Governor and members of the Council taking their turns at watch.

It was during these Indian campaigns that arrangements were made to provide pensions for those injured in military service. According to articles promulgated on March 5, 1624, it was declared: "That at the beginning of July next the inhabitants of every corporation shall fall upon their adjoining savages, as they did last year, those that shall be hurt upon service to be cured at the public charge, in case any be lamed, to be maintained by the country according to his person and quality."⁶³

THE COMPANY'S FINAL CARE

As late as 1623, when the Company was being prosecuted and its liberal leaders persecuted, the patriot group continued to show their solicitude for the colony in Virginia by sending out a number of ships, despite the fact that the "disreputation" given Virginia affairs by Butler, Johnson, and others so discouraged the public that the number of those secured to go forth "was not above 260." In fact, the Company's current "Discourse" added that the former "good opinion of this action decayed; so that Preachers of note in the Cittie" that had prayed "continually for Virginia left quite the remembrance of it."⁶⁴ Nevertheless, we learn that the *Furtherance*, dispatched just before the news of the massacre, had on board Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, and five apprentices for setting up the school building. The vessel also bore twenty-five shipwrights for the development in Virginia of what might be called a colonial merchant marine, another evidence of the Company's desire to make Virginia a self-sustaining colony maintained

by self-governing colonists. Contrariwise, under royal control, it became a chief aim of the mother country to keep the colonists dependent. The latter was the end the king and Council now sought; so that by virtue of the so-called "mercantilist system," it was intended that all the English colonies were to be rendered dependent with respect to manufacturing and trade.*

COLONIAL INCIDENTS AND PERSONALITIES

The first decades of Virginia history disclose a number of interesting characters associated with the settlement, some of whom were resident planters, others sojourners for various periods. Of such was Captain John Bargrave, who had made or introduced for Sandys the much-abused ballot box which led to the overthrow of Sir Thomas Smith's regime. A rugged individualist, Bargrave was active in colonial matters on both sides of the Atlantic. After having spent several summers "in the warres" of Europe and at his study "in the wynter," he became actively interested in Virginia, where he acquired a plantation and whither he directed sundry ships, some of which he seems to have owned in whole or in part. Bargrave evolved a plan of government for the colony in the form of a proclamation ordained at Westminster under the royal seal. Writing in 1623, he metaphorically puts it in the mind of his Majesty to declare that since the Virginia plantation:

Is so strong that it is able to defend itself and is fit to put on the face of a commonwealth, we . . . do profess that next and immediately after the honor we shall do to God in converting of the infidels to the knowledge and worship of Him, we intend wholly the good of our subjects: . . . and to that end endeavoring to cause both England and Virginia to endow each other with their benefits and profits that thereby

* Since the suit for investigation and dissolution was against the Company, it seemed proper to charge the costs of defense against the common treasury; but Alderman Johnson, with the support of the Privy Council, and inferentially at least, the king, demanded that the costs be borne by the defendants, meaning those who objected to surrendering the charter. The fact that such an order did not cause the patriot leaders to give up what they must have felt was a lost cause shows the character of those who were thus prosecuted. The Privy Council's decree was, in effect, a bribe to some and a threat to others; for that body declared that "such as are willing to surrender shall be discharged from all contribution towards the expense of the said suit, both in their persons and their goods."—*Records*, II, 504.

*laying aside force and our coactive power, we may by our justice and bounty marry and combine those our provinces to us and our sovereignty in natural love and obedience.**

In the latter part of the above quotation John Bargrave forecast the basis for the voluntary association of the British Commonwealth of nations as proclaimed in the twentieth century.

Besides the celebrated Dr. John Woodall, a number of well-known physicians in England were studying diseases in the colony, among whom were Drs. Theodore Gulstone, Francis Anthony, and Thomas Winston, all members of the Company. Of the early physicians sent to Virginia Dr. Lawrence Bohun was perhaps the ablest. His successor, Dr. John Potts, was as much of a political figure and speculator as he was a physician. With his imported chests of mysterious drugs, he was later accused of poisoning the savages. Whether this charge was a libel or otherwise, the story reached England, where he was much blamed. In general it appears he was not overscrupulous in his dealings, and so many accusations were brought against him in his career in Virginia that the historian feels that out of the number of them there were definite grounds for complaint. For the most part, these charges concern a later period, but there is the definitely recorded case of one Jane Dickenson, whose husband was "slain in the bloody massacre and herself carried away with the cruel savages," amongst whom she endured "much misery for ten months." Then, as she averred to the Governor and Council, "it pleased God so to dispose the hearts of the Indians" as to set her free for a small ransom, which amounted to but two pounds of beads. These were furnished by Dr. Potts, who proceeded to claim her services on account of the unserved term of her husband and her own ransom. She asked for a discharge from this bondage "the first by her widowhood," and the second "by the law of nations." In petitioning for "releasement" from her "servitude," she declared "it much differeth not" from her slavery with the Indians.

* *Records*, IV, 410-411. The italicized phrases are given as in the original. Had they been known in the days of George III Edmund Burke might well have found good use for them in his famous speech on "Conciliation," once well thumbed by American school boys.

As colonial physicians differed in character and characteristics, so did the clergy. In both cases the individuals who behaved badly broke into the records and thereby cast a shadow over others who rendered faithful service, but who are forgotten for lack of mention. By way of illustration, of six of the earliest ministers, we learn that five reflected credit upon their high calling, and of the sixth we have no unfavorable report. In a later period, the proportion was not so good, for with material prosperity came opportunities for "livings." Some notoriety was achieved by Mr. Greville Pooley, who was overhasty in declaring his devotion to the widow Jordan.

As previously stated, spinsters were rare in Virginia and the competition for the hands of widows was so keen that on the decease of a married planter it appears that the executor of his estate had an unfair advantage over his rivals. It was in the face of such competition that the haste of Mr. Pooley in seeking the hand of the widow of Captain Samuel Jordan led to litigation. Very properly Mr. Pooley induced Captain Isaac Madison either to broach the subject of marriage to Mrs. Jordan or to urge considerations already before the widow. "At first Madison was unwilling to meddle," but finally agreed, and Mrs. Jordan appeared agreeable to the parson's suit; but with many actual or potential rivals, Mr. Pooley would not wait and, calling upon the widow, induced her to "contract herself and spake these words—'I, Greville Pooley, take thee Sysley to my wedded wife' . . . Then (holding her by the hand) *he* spake these words, 'I Sysley take thee Grivell to my wedded husband to have and to hold till death us do part.'" There was no immediate witness or auditor to this ceremony, although Captain Madison was nearby. Subsequent testimony, however, showed that, before Mr. Pooley's departure, Mrs. Jordan asked the self-marrying minister to promise "not to reveal" the bond "till she thought the time fitting." Upon Mr. Pooley's disclosing the matter to others, the widow felt justified in setting aside so irregular a ceremony, and proceeded to contract herself to Mr. William Ferrar, executor of her husband's estate, and a younger brother of John and Nicholas, successive vice-presidents of the Virginia-London Company. This betrothal was affirmed before the Governor and Council, whereupon Mr. Pooley

called Mrs. Jordan into court for breach of promise. Mrs. Jordan admitted her promise to Mr. Pooley, and she admitted that she had said that "Mr. Pooley might have fared the better had he not revealed" their agreement. These and other points baffled the colonial Council or Court, which honorable body referred the whole matter to the Company in England "desiring the resolution of the civil lawyers thereon" as to whether the Pooley-Jordan agreement "be a formal and legal contract." Captain Jordan had died in March, 1623, and while Mr. Pooley began his suit for the widow's hand less than a week later, Mr. Ferrar, evidently by virtue of his position as executor, appears to have established a prior understanding.

The widow Jordan was certainly not the only woman who had betrothal conflicts; for we find that at a court held on June 21, 1624, it was ordered that:

The next Sabbath day, in the time of divine service, Eleanor Sprague shall publicly before the Congregation acknowledge her offense in contracting herself to two several men at one time and, penitently confessing her fault, shall ask God and the Congregation's forgiveness.

And to prevent the like offense in others, it is ordered that every minister give notice in his church to all his parishioners that what man or woman soever shall use words amounting to a contract of marriage to several parties, though not precise and legal, yet so as may intangle and breed scruple in their consciences shall for such their offense undergo either corporal punishment as whipping or other punishment by fine or otherwise according to the quality of the person offending.⁶⁵

An incident concerned with the playing of games at Jamestown has been frequently cited as an illustration of the careless indifference of the first colonists. The instance mentioned proves nothing, one way or the other, when the accompanying circumstances are taken into consideration.

By way of comparison Governor Bradford, returning from work on Christmas day at Plymouth, found certain objectors to Christmas labor playing at ball; so at Jamestown in 1611, Marshal Dale had previously found the colonists at a game of bowls. In neither case was the diversion reprehensible in itself. Dale came upon the Jamestown settlers playing on a Sunday afternoon, which

was definitely regarded in Anglican England as a proper time for recreation,⁶⁶ however much Dale might object.*

A duel was fought early in 1625 when George Harrison, planter, challenged Richard Stephens, a Jamestown merchant, to "meet him in a place, which was made mention of," where it "so fell out that Mr. Harrison received a cut in the leg which did somewhat grieve him, and 14 days after he departed his life." Harrison had been ill and had come to Jamestown when but partially recovered. Evidently the combatants fought with swords for the vindication of their honor. This seems to have been the first duel on record in the English colonies; for the combat between Epps and Stalling previously recounted (*supra*, p. 282), was more in the nature of a brawl, as was that at Plymouth between Edward Doty and Edward Litster, servants to Stephen Hopkins.†

That the veriest trifles will find preservation in the records and illustrate life and customs is shown in the correspondence of Dr. John Woodall, traveller, author of sundry medical works, and withal an absentee London landlord. Dr. Woodall owned a considerable number of cattle in the colony; and as a health measure he recommended an increased consumption of milk. In a letter to Dr. Woodall, Mr. Christopher Best reported in June, 1623: "Many of your young cattle are dead, for there hath been a general mortality of man and beast this year and the last. Two or three freemen that wanted flesh must needs go into the woods to kill deer; but instead of a deer, they shot your calf." For this offense, adjudged accidental, the unfortunate hunters were condemned to "serve the colony seven years."‡

Previously, in a court held March 1, 1623, Daniel French and George Clarke were condemned to death in that they did "feloni-

* Subsequently, however, Secretary Hamor referred to bowling at Jamestown as a regular pastime.

† The dubious "distinction" of priority has been definitely claimed for the Doty-Litster affair—cf. Leon Clark Hills, *History and Genealogy of the Mayflower Planters* (Washington, 1936), p. 118. "Daggers" are mentioned as the weapons used in this "celebrated duel"—cf. Azel Ames, *The Mayflower and Her Log* (Boston, 1907), p. 228. A reference to the "dressing" of Harrison's wound is found in the *Minutes of the Council and General Court*, 1622-1632, under date of January 24, 1625 (N. S.), p. 44.

‡ Dr. Woodall's acquisition of at least some of the cattle is beclouded in a deal with Argall, who had appropriated cattle belonging to the London Company—cf. "Discourse of the Old Company" (1625) in Vol. I, *Virginia Historical Magazine*, p. 155 ff. Incidentally, the "Discourse" states Dr. Woodall was "surgeon to Sir Thomas Smith."

ously steal and kill one calf of the goods and chattles of Sir George Yeardley, knight." The twelve jurymen impaneled to try these cases included four members listed as "gentlemen," two merchants and sundry others. The accused "received sentence of death according to law," but it was later noted that while Daniel French was executed, George Clarke was reprieved. The calf was valued at "three pounds sterling" or approximately \$90.00 in modern currency.⁶⁷

Before 1623, those found guilty of killing hogs and cattle had been dealt with leniently, but the scarcity of domestic cattle following the General Massacre led to a proclamation in September, 1623, in which Governor Wyatt declared that although such stealing had not been "prosecuted as felony and punished with death as, according to the laws of England, it might have been," public safety called for stern measures "as well against all concealors and accessories, as against the principals themselves." Thereupon, for a while at least, the theft of "domestical" animals was adjudged "a felony and punishable with death, if it be found by the jury to exceed the value of twelve pence."⁶⁸ The proclamation gave warning that these animals were rated at a far greater value in the colony, where they were scarce, than in the mother country, where they were plentiful.

It was many years before cases of burglary appeared in the records. There was, however, a notable exception when the Court ordered an investigation of the "breakage up" of Mr. Abraham Piersey's store. Since the settlers were taking turns at the watch to guard against Indian attack, some one must have been careless or slept at his post. At least five had been on guard that night, but none had seen or heard the culprit. This incident is of interest in that we find Nicholas Martiau, ancestor of George Washington, testifying that he "stood sentry the second watch," but did not see any suspicious persons.*

* *Minutes, op. cit.*, pp. 15, 27, 32. Martiau's name has various spellings, but the one here used seems to be the correct one. Mention has been made of the Walloon settlement proposed for Virginia, but which ultimately, under Dutch auspices, settled at the mouth of the Hudson. However, Nicholas Martiau received denization papers about 1620. When the first American census was taken by Hotten in 1623, "Nicholas Marteaw" is given as one of the colonists having arrived in the *Bona Ventura*. The spelling Martiau was corroborated in a letter from the Belgian Ambassador, Baron de Cartier, who wrote to the author, December 23, 1923, that "Martiau étant le vieux mot wallon signifiant 'Marteau' en français."

While we find but one duelling challenge, with time, place, and principals recorded, frontier quarrels among small planters or tenants got into the records where definite suable injuries were inflicted. Some of the litigation developed amusing phases, as when William Tyler confessed a slander in calling Captain John Utie a "fiddler." Apparently Utie resented this allegation as being on a par with the charge of having "embezzled" some tobacco. In any event, he took exception to Tyler's statement that he had seen Utie "play upon a viol at sea." Since the defendant could not establish either allegation, it was ordered "that William Tyler for his slanderous words against Mr. Utie, which he cannot any ways prove, shall pay the sum of one hundred marks."⁶⁹ That there were other such suits is shown by the failure of Mrs. Alice Boyce in her effort to get a court order compelling Joan Vinson to "stand in a white sheet and ask your petitioner forgiveness before the congregation" for her slanderous gossip.⁷⁰

In view of the fact that Virginia was developed under Anglican auspices, one is surprised, years after Dale's severe regime, to find sundry regulations considered characteristic of New England. By way of illustration, on November 30, 1624, the Court declared "That whereas Thomas Sully hath broken the Sabbath Day in going a hunting . . . he shall pay five pounds sterling in good tobacco towards the church charge, and acknowledge his fault in the church before the congregation."*

In the spring of 1625, a Virginia jury was called to pass upon the death of "a servant boy of Mr. Hugh Crothers" found hanging by the neck. The jury found "that John Verone was guilty of his own death," adding that the chain wherewith he hanged himself "doth fall to the king." Thus there was formal recognition in the colony of the ancient law of deodand, under which a chattel causing loss of life was so forfeited.⁷¹

We find no legalistic definition of drunkenness in early Virginia records like that in the Province of Maryland, where it was impressively described as "drinking with excess to the notable perturbation of any organ of sense or motion." Nevertheless, examples of punishment for drunkenness may be cited from the

* *Minutes*, p. 33. From 1611-1616, Marshal Dale's regulations were as severe as those of the Puritans, with an added military note.

records of the May Court of 1625, when Richard Kingsmell complained that Robert Fitts was "disordered in drink" to such a degree that he was not "able to go home." Fitts was fined forty shillings; and Kingsmell forthwith entered charges of some general carousing, which instance is here cited as apparently illustrative of considerable freedom among servants until the worthy Mr. Kingsmell fell upon their path. In short, Kingsmell informed the Court that one John Radish "carried over Sir George Yeardley's servants to his home at unseasonable time of the night and there gave them entertainment and made them drunk." On hearing the evidence, the Court gave Radish the choice between lying "neck and heels" in the stocks or fashioning for the state "a good and sufficient pair of stocks for to punish" others.⁷²

An early example of what may be called expropriation of property by governmental action was taken by the authorities upon the receipt of a letter from Dr. John Woodall with directions that his chest of medical supplies should be sent back to him "unopened and well conditioned." This request was addressed to Mr. Richard Wake, a "surgeon" serving in Virginia. The Virginia Court, however, ordered the chest retained on the ground that the colony was "in great want of the said surgery" and that "notwithstanding Mr. Woodall's desire of having the same returned," Mr. Wake was to leave "the said goods" with the physicians and surgeons of the colony that "they may be furnished therewith, they putting in security to this Court, to pay to Mr. Woodall in England so much ready money as it cost, with such reasonable profit as shall be to his content."⁷³

From these early times for more than a century it appears to have been a fairly general custom in Virginia to have funeral sermons preached and pay the ministers for the same. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Sandys appeared in court proceedings demanding "a twenty-two shilling piece for a sermon at the burial of Mr. Robert Langley." The custom thus begun became a subject of such abuse that, during the following century, a number of Virginians inserted a clause in their wills that on their demise there should be no such public expression.

Sundry references have been made to English boys who arrived in Virginia with the early immigrants. Those mentioned were

brought over by their elders or sent out by the London Company. A possible exception as to this dependence was Adam Thorowgood,* a youth of eighteen, who set out in 1621 under the Sandys regime. In some accounts it has been represented that he came on his own responsibility and brought others with him, entitling him to a grant of over five thousand acres of land. Others reached the conclusion that he had his passage paid for him but that he quickly prospered so that he was able to transport many others, thereby receiving grants of several thousand acres "at the special recommendation of their Lordships and others of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council." †

Eventually Adam Thorowgood was credited with bringing over 105 persons; and in obtaining his patents, with the means for transportation, young Thorowgood may have been aided by his brother, Sir John Thorowgood, together with his father, who seems to have been closely associated with the Bishop of Norwich and the Duke of Buckingham. Adam Thorowgood's career extends beyond the scope of this volume, but one more point in this connection concerns the period under consideration, since one of those whom Thorowgood was recorded as having brought over was Augustine Warner, who, like Nicholas Martiau, was a colonial forebear of George Washington.

PROTEST OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly of 1619 was prorogued to convene in March, 1620, but the body did not meet till November–December, 1621. Unfortunately, the major part of the records concerning the official proceedings of the period have been destroyed. Such Assembly records as are now available were accidentally preserved from the Richmond evacuation fire of 1865 because of the fact that they had been carelessly loaned or wrongfully removed from the Capitol. Again, there is no little difficulty in following proceed-

* Also spelled Thoroughgood and Thorogood.

† Spelling modernized. Cf. W. G. Stanard, "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," in *Virginia Historical Magazine*, II, 416. For an account of this uncertainty of status, cf. *ibid.*, XVIII, 341, 342: "Adam Thoroughgood, a boy of eighteen, who was ranked among the servants of Mr. Edward Waters, but who was plainly no menial, as he had two brothers who were knights, one of them in the household of the Duke of Buckingham."

ings chronologically because at every session, for many years, the preceding laws were formally repealed and then re-enacted in the same terms. Under the circumstances, the clerks regarded the older scripts as worthless paper to be cast aside.⁷⁴ We do know, however, that the third session of the General Assembly—that of 1624—was faced with the royal move to abolish representative government as established by the Virginia-London Company; yet outside of its protestations in this matter to King James and the Privy Council, its procedure reflects an even tenor of life in the colony but two years after the General Massacre. Despite that disaster, there were strong expressions of optimism. March 22, the anniversary of the Massacre, was made the occasion for public thanksgiving and proclaimed as an annual holiday to celebrate the preservation of the colony.

Another measure passed by this Assembly was an act which gave exemption from "personal service to the wars," not merely for those settlers who were in Virginia "before the last coming of Sir Thomas Gates," but also for "their posterity"—a remarkably comprehensive exemption, unless "posterity" was interpreted to mean only the next generation. Several other measures are of interest; for example, the Assembly provided the comparatively mild penalty of a fine of a pound of tobacco for absence from church. It was provided also that the minister in each parish or corporation should be "first satisfied" out of tobacco taxation or allotments.

When, following the resumption of colonial control by the king, it was realized that the General Assembly of Virginia was suspended, Governor Wyatt took a step without precedent in colonial experience. At the request, or with the approval of the Virginia Council, he issued a proclamation to the heads of the several boroughs directing them to "call together all the freemen" of the plantations, who "by the major part of the voices," should elect two delegates each, "upon whose judgments the rest will be contented to rely." In spirit, this was a call for an extra-legal assembly in the guise of a popular convention. Wyatt's proclamation was issued in 1625; and the concept that animated these pioneers at Jamestown stirred the Burgesses at Williamsburg exactly a century and a half later when, upon the dissolution of the General

Assembly of 1775, the members gathered in the famous extra-legal convention in the Raleigh Tavern. Unfortunately, there is no record of the proceedings of this first popular convention in America, but the very issuing of the summons to election kept alive the spirit of free institutions until the passing of James I and the sanctioning by his successor of the reassembling of the law-making body.

The change of government in 1624, although by direction of James I, did not take place without an earnest protest from the colonists, few as they were, and that in the face of threats from John Harvey at the head of the royal commission. Determined, in his official capacity, to find fault, Harvey had addressed a personal letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, inveterate foe of the liberal leadership of the Virginia Company, in which he wrote: "I and my friends appointed have done our utmost endeavors for searching out the truth in answer to those commands which the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council were pleased to send; and do find the persons here to be more in number and provisions of victuals than we expected." Officially, however, Harvey was painting a picture altogether black to justify the change proposed; and he significantly added the hope that his report will "come to your hands before" the appearance of "Mr. Pountis, the messenger of the General Assembly." Of additional significance is Harvey's closing, in which he asks "to be remembered in all humble manner to my most honourable good Lord, the Earl of Warwick."⁷⁵

Of the several colonial protests against the proposed change, the first was a distinctly partisan arraignment of what was called "Sir Thomas Smith's government." This was by way of answer to Alderman Robert Johnson's vicious attack upon the Sandys-Southampton-Ferrar regime. The Virginia protest emphasized the early "want and misery," and the "severe and cruel laws" of Gates and Dale. While these accusations were true, at least part of the troubles of the first "12 years" could be attributed to pioneering inexperience and matters beyond Company control. The protest further contrasted the sufferings of that period with the better conditions that had prevailed since, despite the general admission that these later periods "of plenty and liberty, were mixed with calamities of sickness and mortality." The argument closed with

paying the subscribers' respect to Johnson as the chief defender of Sir Thomas Smith's "offenses and infamies." *

Since George Sandys was one of the signers of this document, it is quite possible that he, as perhaps the most expert penman in Virginia, composed the protest. Certainly he had good reason to resent the vindictive attacks made upon his brother by the Johnson-Smith-Warwick faction.

While it seems that no protests, however phrased, or any truths, however presented, would have changed the determination of the king to seize control of the colony, it is refreshing to turn from partisan accusations on either side to a consideration of the courageous defense of political principles exhibited by these early Anglo-Americans. When the bullying Harvey imperiously demanded that the General Assembly give joyful assent to the change of government, the Assembly diplomatically yet daringly replied that they had presented their thanks "to his sacred Majesty for his gracious and tender care and have returned our answers" to his Majesty's Privy Council; but that, "in the meantime, we conceive his Majesty's intention of changing the government hath proceeded from much misinformation, which we hope may be altered upon our more faithful declarations."

In this statement we find the first colonial refusal to act in accordance with royal commands on the pretext that the king or his advisers had been misinformed, and that the orders received were not meant as read; so that this action might be cited as a precedent for George Washington's private interpretation of the Quebec Act in its effect upon Virginia's claims to the northwest.⁷⁶

By way of summary it may be said that irrespective of the varying fortunes of the Virginia colonists for the seventeen years from 1607 to 1624, the liberal leaders of the sponsoring Company labored long and endured grievous losses in guiding one of the most important developments in human history. However distressing were their material misfortunes, we now see them in the light of their pursuit of high ideals. Although they had small success in the conversion of the savages, they opened a continent

* Cf. *Journal*, pp. 21-22, 26. Among other things, the protest recited that, while they were "boiling" a mare killed by the Indians, the colonists had "wished that Sir Thomas Smith was upon her back in the kettle."

to the forces of civilization; and they were very definitely the instruments for initiating in the New World the practice of self-government through representative institutions.

After the dissolution of the Company, the colonists were destined to endure periods of tyranny, as under Sir William Berkeley; but the autocrats that served Stuart kings were ultimately outlasted by the champions of democratic principles, so that when a Hanoverian monarch sought to override the colonies and impose restrictions upon their liberties, classes and masses alike were led by planters who could trace their ideas of freedom to the founders of the Virginia-London Company and the first General Assembly. It was no accident, therefore, that the dominion which nurtured a George Yeardley should bring forth a George Washington.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

¹ Cf. Frt. Aurelius Pompen, *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools* (London, 1925), pp. 225, 226.

² John Rastell, *Interlude of the Four Elements* (c. 1510-1520), pp. 2, 28-32, col. James Orchard Halliwell, in *Publications of the Percy Society* (London, 1848), Vol. XXII.

³ William Robertson, *History of America* (Philadelphia, 1821), Vol. II, p. 209 (Second American, from the Tenth London Edition). It is interesting to note that the so-called "Books" IX and X, containing the "History of Virginia to the year 1688; and of New England to the year 1652," were used as text-books in schools; e.g., in the Rose Hill School, 1862-72, in the first American edition of 1799. Originals in Alderman Library; cf. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1942.

⁴ Sir Philip Sidney wrote to Sir Edward Stafford, July 21, 1584, that Hakluyt had become a "trumpet" in sounding the call for American adventure. Cf. Albert Feuillerat (ed.), *Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1923) III, 145.

⁵ James A. Williamson, introduction to George Bruner Parks' *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 10, New York, 1930), p. xiv.

⁶ Vol. II, *Second Series*.

⁷ "Heads of Chapters"; *Discourse on Western Planting*, p. 3. Cf. also the texts of the various chapters, *passim*. *Documentary History of Maine*, Vol. II, *Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 2nd Series*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapters II, III, IV, XIV, XVII; pp. 3-5, 13, 19, 36, 89, 108.

⁹ Milton Waldman, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New York, 1928), 44.

¹⁰ For Raleigh's charter of 1584, see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Vol. VIII, pp. 289-296.

¹¹ Arthur Barlowe, see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 297, 298.

¹² Luther S. Livingston, introductory note to facsimile edition of Thomas Hariot's *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. (Dodd, Mead's Facsimile Reprints, Historical Series, No. 1, New York, 1903), p. xi.

¹³ Lane to Walsingham, August 12, 1585. *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 9.

¹⁴ Hariot, *Briefe and true Report*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 375.

¹⁵ Lane, *Account of the Englishmen left in Virginia*, . . . August, 1585 . . . June, 1586. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 321.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-328.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-336.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-342.

²¹ Ralph Lane, *An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586*. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 320-345, *passim*.

²² Lane to Walsingham, August 12, 1585, *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 12.

²³ Lane, *An Account* . . . of the English men left in Virginia, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 342-345.

²⁴ "An Assignment from Sir Walter Raleigh, to divers Gentlemen and Merchants of

London, for the inhabiting and planting of our People in Virginia," in Ebenezer Hazard (ed.), *Historical Collections; Consisting of State Papers* (Philadelphia, 1792), I, 42-45.

²⁵ Hariot, *A briefe and true report*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 381.

²⁶ *The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 386-391.

Cf. Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1857), I, 196; I. N. Tarbox, notes in *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America* (Publications of the Prince Society, Vol. XV), pp. 246, 248, 251, 253, and 255; William Wirt Henry, "Sir Walter Raleigh: The Settlements at Roanoke and Voyages to Guiana," in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (New York, 1884), III, 113-114; Conway Whittle Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia, The First Attempt* (Norfolk, 1924), pp. 49, 86, 320.

There seems to be no positive proof to substantiate the charge made by some writers that Ferdinando was in Spanish employ. In the narrative of "the fourth voyage made to Virginia . . . in the yere 1587," the contemporary source for the master-pilot's misdoings, the reputed author, Governor White, neither suggests nor hints that his navigator was the Spanish intriguer and spy. White does, however, recount a series of incidents during this voyage which show beyond doubt that Ferdinando's conduct was notoriously irregular and thoroughly adverse to the welfare of the colony. White also relates several instances of falsehoods told by the navigator concerning important matters during the voyage; of Ferdinando's ignorance or carelessness about the landing near Hatteras, in which he nearly wrecked the vessels, despite the fact that he was supposed to be very familiar with the coast; of his forcing the colonists to land and remain at Roanoke, despite the written instructions of Raleigh to settle in the Chesapeake Bay region. Cf. John White, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 387-392.

During the first voyage, in 1585, Ferdinando was also present, but seems to have acquitted himself very well, having merited the praise of Lane, who wrote to Walsingham that "Symon Ferdynando . . . trewly hath carried him selfe bothe with grete skylle and with grete government all thys voyage . . . as the whoole gyng of masters and marryners wyll with one voyce affyrme." Lane to Walsingham, August 12, 1585, *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

²⁸ *The fourth voyage . . . to Virginia*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 392-393.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-394.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

³¹ White to Hakluyt, February 4, 1593, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 404-406.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 404-405; see also *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.* (Robert Johnson), (London, 1609). Reprint in Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers* (Washington, 1836), p. 9.

³³ *The fifth voyage . . . into . . . Virginia*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 414-416.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.

³⁵ Randolph G. Adams, in *American Historical Review*, XLI, 88 ff. Professor Adams reports having traced one of White's Indian figures through three centuries of drawings. Captain John Smith "borrowed" the figure to illustrate the Susquehannock Indian giant in his "mappe" of Virginia (Smith, *Works*, Arber, II, 350); also, with slight variation, the "king of Pamaunkee" (*Ibid.*, I, 341).

³⁶ Cf. John Brereton, *A Briefe and true Relation of the Discovery of the North part of Virginia* (London, 1602). Reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series 3, VIII, 94-95, or facsimile reproduction, New York, 1903 (Dodd, Mead's Facsimile Reprints, Historical Series, No. 2), p. 14. Cf. also William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (Publications of the Hakluyt Society, No. VI, London, 1849), pp. 153-154.

³⁷ Brereton, *Briefe and true Relation* (facsimile ed.), p. 4; *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 3, VIII, 85.

³⁸ Brereton, *Briefe and true Relation* (facsimile ed.), pp. 10-11; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 3, VIII, 92-93.

³⁹ Hariot, *Brief and true Report*, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, VIII, 374-382.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁴¹ Edward Hayes, "A Treatise, containing important Inducements for the planting in these Parts . . .," in Brereton, *Briefe and true Relation* (facsimile ed.), p. 15; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 3, VIII, 95.

⁴² Archer's letter, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, Third Series (Boston, 1843), p. 79.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁵ James Rosier, "A true relation of the . . . voyage made this present year 1605, by Captain George Waymouth, in the Discovery of the land of Virginia," in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 3, VIII, 127-157.

⁴⁶ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act II, Sc. 2.

⁴⁷ *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest* (London, 1906), I, 79-111.

⁴⁸ Cf. John Gilmary Shea, "Ancient Florida," in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1886), II, 238-241, 285-286; Edward G. Bourne, *Spain in America* (New York, 1904), 138-140.

⁴⁹ Shea, in Winsor, II, 282.

⁵⁰ Cf. Juan de la Cosa chart (reproduced from the original) in the possession of the Lenox Library; also facsimile in Edme François Jomard, *Les Monuments de la Géographie*, etc. (Paris, 1864, Plate XVI.)

⁵¹ E. D. Fite and A. Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 12.

⁵² April 27, 1942.

⁵³ April 22, 1942.

⁵⁴ See also "Introduction" by Dr. Walter W. Ristow in "The Western Hemisphere, An Exhibition Held at the New York Public Library," 1942.

⁵⁵ James [Stuart] I: A Counterblaste to Tobacco (London, 1604), p. 24 in Charles Hindley: *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany* (London, 1872), Vol. II.

⁵⁶ Thomas Hariot: *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, C. 3, Reproduced in *Facsimile* from the First Edition of 1588 (New York, 1903). Orthography modernized.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

⁵⁸ Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 196.

⁵⁹ Cf. Alexander Brown, *Genesis*, II, 689.

⁶⁰ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of the Bermudas*, Arber ed., II, 681, 683.

⁶¹ *The Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 61; see also a "Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia," in *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, III, 547.

⁶² Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 151.

⁶³ Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), p. 25.

⁶⁴ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. VII, Fourth Series (Boston, 1865), p. 31.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54; "Lion Gardiner to John Winthrop, Jr."

⁶⁶ J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Island* (London, 1877), p. 123.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶⁸ Cf. Andrew White, S. J., *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 20.

CHAPTER TWO

¹ *Musophilus, or Defense of All Learning*, Alexander Grosart (ed.), *Complete Works of Samuel Daniel*, I, 255. *Musophilus* was prefaced by verses in honor of Sir Fulke Greville, who became a member of the London-Virginia Company in 1617.

² Cf. Peter Peckard, *Memoirs, etc.*, in Christopher Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography* (London, 1939), VI, 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶ Cf. Alexander W. Weddell, in *Virginia Historical Portraiture* (Richmond, 1930), Part I, pp. 55-58.

⁷ This charter (April 10, 1606) has been published in a number of reference works, including William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 76-79; Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 52-63; and Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters* (HR Doc., Vol. 91, pt. 3, 59 Cong., 2 Sess., Washington, 1909), VII, 3783-3810.

⁸ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1932), I, 162.

⁹ Cf. James Phinney Baxter, "Memoir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges," in *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine* (Publications of the Prince Society, No. 18, Boston, 1890), Vol. I.

¹⁰ John Stoneman, "Voyage of M. Henry Challons intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, 1606 . . .," in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV, 1832-1837; reprinted in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 127-139.

¹¹ Sir Ferdinando Gorges, *A Brief Narrative of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America* (London, 1658). Reprinted in *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine*, II, 11.

¹² Cf. "The Sagadahoc Colony," etc. Publication of the Gorges Society (Lambeth MS.), 1892.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80. Gorges, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-91, *passim*.

¹⁵ Cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV, 1685-1690 (ed. 1625).

¹⁶ Cf. William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 67-75. Also, Brown, *Genesis*, I, 65-85.

¹⁷ Hening, I, 69-74.

¹⁸ Hening, I, 71-72; Brown, *Genesis*, I, 71-72.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-85, *passim*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

²² Philip Alexander Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia*, p. 124.

²³ James Rosier, *True Relation of Waymouths Voyage*, in *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, 1906), 394.

²⁴ Cf. Edward L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 280; also James S. M. Anderson, *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (2nd ed., London, 1856), I, 168.

²⁵ Cf. *Percy's Discourse*, Purchas, IV, 1686-1687.

²⁶ Quoted by C. A. Browne, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX, Series 2, April, 1939, pp. 1-7, from the *Philosophical Transaction* of the Royal Society, Vol. XVII and *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Vol. III.

²⁷ Cf. Boies Penrose, "Some Jacobean Links Between America and the Orient," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 288-289. George Louis Baer, *British Colonial System* (New York, 1908), p. 82.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 951-952.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 867-868.

³⁰ James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (London, 1856), XI, 108, and XII, 151. Froude gives the spelling of the name as "Crofts"; Edward P. Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*.

³¹ Cf. *Winthrop Papers*, II, 120.

³² *Johnson and Graham's Lessee v. M'Intosh*, 21 U. S. (8 Wheat.), 543; 573; 5 L. Ed., 681, 688.

³³ James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law* (12th Edition, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Ed., Boston, 1884), III, 381-382.

CHAPTER THREE

¹ William Strachey in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV, 1752.

² Brown, *Genesis*, I, 113-114.

³ *The Description of the Now-Discovered River and Country of Virginia*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 61.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62. (Spelling modernized) Alexander Brown, in *Genesis*, I, 110, credits the original to Captain Gabriel Archer, agreeing with William Green, quoted by Robert A. Brock in Justin Winsor (ed.) *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 154. Brown and Green also credit Archer with two other tracts, *A Relatyon of the Discovery of our River from James Forte into the Maine; Made by Captain Christopher Newport, and Sincerely Written and Observed by a Gentleman of the Colony*, and *A Brief Description of the People*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 49.

⁷ Cope to the Earl of Salisbury [August?], 1607, in Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston, 1898), p. 45.

⁸ Archer, *Relatyon of the Discovery of our River*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 47-48.

⁹ Cf. *Maryland Archives*, V, 164. See also Ralph Hamor's report.

¹⁰ Cope to Salisbury [August ?] 1607, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 45.

¹¹ *Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 84-85. In several accounts, or reprints, *Tanx* is spelled *Taux*.

¹² The Council for Virginia, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* . . . (London, 1610). Reprinted in Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers*, III, No. 1, p. 6.

¹³ Percy's *Discourse*, *op. cit.*, p. 1688. Strachey voiced the usual complaint that the Indians were "very thievish," but apparently contradicts the testimony of other observers in saying that they "seldome steal one from another."—*Travaile*, p. 69.

¹⁴ *Travels and Works of John Smith*, Arber (ed.), *op. cit.*, I, 92.

¹⁵ Percy's *Discourse*, Purchas, IV, 1689.

¹⁶ Archer, *Relatyon of the Discovery of our River*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 57-58.

¹⁷ Archer, *Relatyon of the Discovery of our River*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 56-57.

¹⁸ Edward Maria Wingfield, *A Discourse of Virginia*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 77.

¹⁹ Dale "Lawes," etc.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

²¹ William Strachey, *A True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV, 1753.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1896), I, 189-190. In a letter to the author under date of October 18, 1940, Dr. Thomas B. Turner writes: "Apparently malaria was prevalent in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From sources to which I had access when in Jamaica (Archives de Indias de Seville), it was prevalent during the Spanish occupation of Jamaica, that is, in the last half of the sixteenth century."

²⁴ Cf. Smith, Arber, I, 97; II, 39; *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 83.

²⁵ *Wingfield's Discourse*, pp. 85, 92.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 86, 98.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁸ *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 81.

²⁹ Cf. *Wingfield's Discourse*, pp. 83-89, *passim*.

CHAPTER FOUR

¹ Cope to Salisbury, August, 1607, Brown, *First Republic in America*, p. 43.

² Cope to the Earl of Salisbury, August 22, 1607.

³ Cope to Salisbury, August 22, 1607, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 46.

⁴ Cf. *Genesis*, I, 296-302.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 361-362 (orthography modernized).

⁶ *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, April, 1920, p. 450.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXV, 449.

⁸ Roe to Salisbury, September (?), 1607, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 49.

⁹ William Crashaw, "Epistle Dedicatorie," in Alexander Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia* (London, 1613; quoted in Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (Boston, 1890), II, 611-612.

¹⁰ Act II, Scene iii, Lines 153-155, 161-165. A. H. Bullen (ed.), *The Works of John Marston* (London, 1887), III, 36.

¹¹ Act III, Scene iii, lines 26-36, 41-44, 47-50, *ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

¹² John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours* (Boston, 1897), I, 58.

¹³ Philip Alexander Bruce, in *Colonial Period, History of Virginia*, I, 1.

¹⁴ Cf. Zuniga to Philip III, September 22, and October 16, 1607, Brown, *Genesis*, I, 116-117, 124.

¹⁵ Cf. Brown, *Genesis*, I, 364.

¹⁶ Roe to Salisbury, September [?], 1607, Brown, *First Republic*, p. 49.

¹⁷ Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, Arber, II, 393.

¹⁸ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 393.

¹⁹ Smith, *True Relation*, Arber, I, 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²¹ *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 395.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

²³ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 393.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 397-398.

²⁶ Smith, *True Relation*, Arber, I, 19, 20, italics inserted.

²⁷ *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 93-94.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 408.

³⁰ *Wingfield's Discourse*, *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 94-95; Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 401.

³¹ Cf. Conway Whittle Sams, *Conquest of Virginia, The Second Attempt*.

³² Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 92.

³³ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 444.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

³⁵ *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 106.

³⁶ *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 435.

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¹ *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 96; Perkins to Cornwallis household, March 28, 1608, Brown, *Genesis*, I, 175; Smith, *True Relation*, Arber, I, 23; *Map of Virginia*, *ibid.*, I, 103; *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 407.

² Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 103; *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 407.

³ *Wingfield's Discourse*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 96.

⁴ Perkins, in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 173-177.

⁵ *State Papers, Domestic, James I*, Vol. 50, No. 65. Later (fashioned in England), furniture from Virginia walnut came to adorn the houses of John Wolstenholme; Nicholas, Earl of Thanet; Sir Dudley Digges; and John Ferrar; and Sir Edwin Sandys.—Cf. Letter of Sir George Yeardley to Sir Edwin Sandys, *Records of Virginia Company of London*, III, 126.

⁶ Brown, *Genesis*, I, 194.

⁷ Cf. Van Meteren, *Historie Der Nederlanden* (Hague, 1614), Vol. 629a; Hakluyt Society Publication, 1860, p. 148; John Meredith Read, Jr., *A Historical Inquiry Concerning Henry Hudson* (Albany, 1866); Llewelyn Powys, *Henry Hudson* (New York, 1928).

⁸ Brown, *First Republic*, p. 62.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64; *idem*, *Genesis*, I, 172, 180, 181, 183, 184, 196.

¹⁰ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 108-120, *passim*.

¹¹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 433.

¹² Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 68-69.

¹³ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 434-437.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-435.

¹⁶ Smith, Arber, I, 125-126.

¹⁷ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 126.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER SIX

¹ Cf. Smith, Arber, I, 128-129; Brown, *First Republic*, p. 70.

² Cf. Arthur Wodenoth, "A Short Collection of the most Remarkable Passages from the Originall to the dissolution of the Virginia Company" (London, 1651) in Library of Congress.

³ Brown, *First Republic*, 76.

⁴ "A True and Sincere Declaration," reprint in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 352.

⁵ John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands* (New York, 1868), IV, 298-299.

⁶ Brown, *Genesis*, I, 231-232 for list of surnames in addenda to this chapter.

⁷ Printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 243-247.

⁸ *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Planting in Virginia. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same* (London, 1609). Reprint in Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers* (Washington, 1836), pp. 6-7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12. The introduction was made official by the initialling of Robert Johnson, deputy, or vice-president.

¹⁰ Brown, *Genesis*, II, 894.

¹¹ Zuniga to Philip III, March 5, 1609, Brown, *Genesis*, I, 245-246.

¹² Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth & James I* (Second Edition, London, 1838), III, 256.

¹³ J. L. Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, Vol. IV (New York, 1868), 297.

¹⁴ Brown, *Genesis*, II, 894.

¹⁵ Zuniga to Philip III, March 5, 1609; Brown, *Genesis*, I, 244.

¹⁶ Strachey, in Purchas, *op. cit.*, 40.

¹⁷ William Strachey, *True Repertory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, in Purchas, XIX, pp. 5-72 (orthography modernized). The "excellent Lady," recipient of this letter, may have been Elizabeth Hume, daughter of the Earl of Dunbar and widow of Theophilus Howard, a member of the London Company. Cf. Charles Mills Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (New York, 1917), pp. 231-232.

¹⁸ Act I, Sc. 2. For expressions paralleling those in Strachey's letter see Robert Ralston Cawley's definitive list of comparisons in "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLI (1926), 688-726. George Lyman Kittredge has observed that *The Tempest* "may well be the latest of all Shakespeare's plays, except for his share in *Henry VIII* and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*."—Introduction to *The Tempest* (Boston, 1939), p. viii.

¹⁹ Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁰ Hotson, I, *William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire* (New York, 1938), p. 259.

²¹ Strachey, in Purchas, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

²² *Newes from Virginia. The lost Flocke Triumphant. With the happy Arrivall of that famous and worthy Knight Sir Thomas Gates: and the well reputed & valiant Captaine M[aster] Christopher Newporte, and others, into England, etc.,—by R. Rich, Gent. one of the Voyage. Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints* (ed. Wesley F. Craven, New York, 1937).

²³ *Coryat's Crudities* (London, 1776), Vol. I.

²⁴ Strachey, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁵ Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁶ Gayley, pp. 59-60. These references are convenient for quotation, but the reader who wishes to follow these and others at greater length will be well repaid by reading "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers," above quoted.

²⁷ Hale, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series* (Worcester, 1904), XV, pp. 98-102.

²⁸ Kittredge, *The Tempest* (with introduction and notes, Boston, 1939). See also *The Tempest* (Arden edition, London, 1901), p. 154.

CHAPTER SEVEN

¹ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber I, 128; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 441.

² Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 130; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 446-447.

³ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 130; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 447.

- ⁴ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 132-133; *idem.*, *Generall Historie*, *ibid.*, II, 449.
- ⁵ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 135.
- ⁶ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 454-455.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 456-457.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 457-458.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 458.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.
- ¹¹ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 149.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ Arber, 231.
- ¹⁴ Smith, *Map of Virginia*, Arber, I, 150.
- ¹⁵ Smith, *Generall Historie*, Arber, II, 476.
- ¹⁶ Arber, I, 161-162.
- ¹⁷ Cf. *Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England or any where . . . by Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia and Admirall of New-England* (London, 1631), in Arber, p. 917.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- ¹⁹ George Percy, "A Trewe Relacyon of the Procedenges and Occurentes of Momente which have hapned in Virginia from the Tyme Sir Thomas Gates was shippwrackte uppon the Bermudes anno 1609 untill my deputation outt of the Country which was in anno dmi 1612," in Tyler's *Quarterly*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
- ²⁰ Arber, I, 163.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginea*, in Smith, *Travels and Works* (Arber ed.), *op. cit.*, I, cii.
- ²⁴ George Percy, *Trewe Relacyon*, in Lyon G. Tyler, *Tyler's Quarterly*, Vol. III (Richmond, 1922), 263-264.
- ²⁵ Arber, I, 41.
- ²⁶ Arber, II, 465-488.
- ²⁷ Arber, 497 ff.
- ²⁸ Percy, *Trewe Relacyon*, *op. cit.*, 262, spelling and punctuation modernized.
- ²⁹ *Works*, Arber, 498-499.
- ³⁰ *A True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia*. Published by aduise and direction of the Councell of Virginia (London, 1610). In Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers*, Vol. III (Washington, 1844), 15-16.
- ³¹ Simancas Seer. de Estado, leg. 844 ff., 44, 50, consultas of July 3 and November 2, 1610, Irene A. Wright in *American Historical Review*, XXV, 452.
- ³² *Trewe Relacyon*, 267-272.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266. The capture and massacre of the English is told by Spelman in his *Relation of Virginea*, without the dreadful details of the torture. Spelman, then being at Powhatan's seat, was possibly used by the "old fox" as an innocent decoy.
- ³⁴ *Works*, Arber, II, 482. The testimony does not state that Moon was in command when the *Swallow* turned to "piracy."
- ³⁵ Force's *Tracts*, III, 15-16.
- ³⁶ *Works*, Arber, I, 92.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 265.
- ³⁸ *Notes on Virginia; The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Definitive edition (Washington, 1907), II, 244. Jefferson made a start in looking beyond Smith into the philosophy of American beginnings, of which Smith makes no mention.
- ³⁹ J. Franklin Jameson, *The History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891), pp. 6, 9-10.
- ⁴⁰ *A brief account of Raleigh's Roanoke Colony of 1585*, etc. (Ann Arbor, 1935). Although the Smithsonian Institution has copies of the White-De Bry paintings, by far

the best and most complete collections as reproduced by Mrs. Sonia Tregaskis are in the William L. Clements Library and the McGregor Library at the University of Virginia.

⁴¹ Cf. Andrews, *Virginia, the Old Dominion*, pp. 39, 96.

⁴² *Bradford's History "of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston, 1898), 111.

⁴³ From original MS. (Enoch Pratt Library, 1940) of letter of George Calvert to Charles I, August 19, 1629.

⁴⁴ Cf. Percy's *Trewe Relacyon*, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-266.

⁴⁵ Brown, *Genesis*, I, p. 348.

CHAPTER EIGHT

¹ *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, October, 1870, pp. 13-14.

² "Instructions, orders and constitutions by way of advice set down, declared, and propounded to Sir Thomas Gates, Knight Governor of Virginia and of the Colony there planted," etc.—*Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Kingsbury, ed., Washington, 133), III, p. 12.

³ *Records of the Virginia Company*, III, 15.

⁴ Cf. *Records*, III, 17.

⁵ Letter from Lord Delaware to the Earl of Salisbury, indorsed "from Virginia. Received in September, 1610." *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, I, No. 22. The letter is given in full by Brown, *Genesis*, I, pp. 413-415.

⁶ Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, p. 53.

⁷ This is assuming that the findings of J. H. R. Yardley set forth in *Before the Mayflower* are correct with respect to Temperance Flowerdew's early arrival in the colony.

⁸ Strachey, *Historie*, p. 31.

⁹ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁰ *Records*, Vol. III, p. 17.

¹¹ Percy's *Trewe Relacyon*, p. 271.

¹² Percy's *Trewe Relacyon*, in *Tyler's Quarterly*, 270.

¹³ "A True Declaration," etc., in Force, *Tracts*, III, 19 (Washington, 1844), orthography modernized.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Supra*.

¹⁶ "A True Declaration," p. 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

²⁰ *Newes from Virginia*, in *Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints* (ed. Wesley F. Craven, New York, 1937).

²¹ *Trewe Relacyon*, p. 275.

²² *Trewe Relacyon*, pp. 276-277.

²³ Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX, 110-111.

²⁴ Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 87-91.

²⁵ Philip to Velasco, November 15, 1611, *Genesis*, I, 524.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

²⁷ Brown, *Genesis*, II, 646.

²⁸ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fourth Series*, IX, p. 6 (1871) (*Genesis*, II, 526).

²⁹ Digby to James I, Brown, *Genesis*, II, 656. Digby was a member of the London-Virginia Company, subsequently created Earl of Bristol.

³⁰ Biard's *Relation*, in Brown, *Genesis*, II, 711-712.

³¹ Hamor, *A True Discourse*, p. 5.

- 32 Hamor, *Discourse*, pp. 6-7.
 33 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
 36 *Ibid.*, Whitaker in Hamor's *Relation*, pp. 59-60.
 37 Hamor, *Discourse*, pp. 63-64.
 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
 40 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 41 *Trewe Relacyon*, p. 279.
 42 Hamor, *Discourse*, p. 38.
 43 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
 44 *Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston, 1898), pp. 162-163.
 Evidently in recognition of the successive failures of the initial communal plan at Jamestown and Plymouth, Lord Baltimore twice emphasized in the Maryland charter that the holding of private property was to be the unquestioned prerogative of all prospective settlers in his province. Cf. Charter of Maryland, X, XVIII.
 45 Force, *Tracts*, III, No. 2.
 46 Printed in connection with Hamor's *True Discourse*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
 48 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
 49 Brown, *Genesis*, p. 498, spelling and punctuation modernized.

CHAPTER NINE

- 1 *The Court and Times of James the First* (Thomas Birch, London, 1848), I, 263.
 2 Cf. I, *William Shakespeare*, *op. cit.*
 3 Cf. "A circular Letter of his Majesties Council for Virginia," in *Genesis*, I, 463-469.
 4 *Records*, I, 492.
 5 Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse*, in private reprint (undated), p. 24.
 6 George Arents, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, April, 1939, Vol. XIX, Series 2, pp. 123-129.
 7 Cf. Rolfe's "Relation of the State of Virginia," in *Southern Literary Messenger* of June, 1839.
 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 98.
 9 Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XIX, 118.
 10 See Neill, *History of Virginia Company*, p. 103 note.
 11 Cf. Correspondence, February, 1611, Winwood to Salisbury in Brown, *Genesis*, I, pp. 446-450; also *ante*, p. 446, as to Dale.
 12 Cf. Smith, Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 698 ff.
 13 Cf. list in Arber, II, 699-700.
 14 *Records*, I, 217, 219, 222, 226, 230; II 51 ff.
 15 *Records*, II, 54.
 16 *Records*, III, 420.

CHAPTER TEN

- 1 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, *op. cit.*, XIX, 124.
 2 *Records*, III, 98-99.
 3 *Records*, I, pp. 254, 259.
 4 *Records*, III, 406, orthography modernized.

⁵ *Records*, III, 691.

⁶ Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, Vol. I, p. 1, *passim*.

⁷ *Records*, II, 13. The debts took time and attention for settlement, and after a full year of the Sandys administration, "The Court thought it equall and just that if any such debts were claymed hereafter," not found under the Company's seal, "the parties complayning should be sent for satisfaction unto such as were the Treasurer and Deputies in those times."

⁸ *Records*, I, 409, 430.

⁹ *Records*, II, 441, 447.

¹⁰ *Records*, IV, 160.

¹¹ *Records*, II, 36.

¹² Cf. *Records*, III, 1-3.

¹³ Cf. *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 161.

¹⁴ *Supra*.

¹⁵ *Infra*.

¹⁶ *Travaile into Virginia*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

²⁰ *Discourse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

²¹ Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury, Dec. 15, 1609, in *State Papers Domestic*, James I, Vol. 50, No. 65; quoted Brown: *Genesis*, Vol. I, p. 357.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

¹ *Records*, III, 220.

² "Instructions to George Yeardley, November 18, 1618," in *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, III, 99.

³ *Records*, III, pp. 157-8, 163.

⁴ *Records*, III, 160-161.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 164.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 165-166.

⁷ *Records*, III, 161, *passim*. The Burgesses set a limit on the profits of the magazine or store.

⁸ "The Discourse of the Old Company," in Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York, 1907), p. 457. Apparently, Spelman had been acting for his patron, former deputy Governor Argall, who was even then planning, with the aid of the "court party," to regain the governorship.

⁹ *Records*, III, 176.

¹⁰ *Records*, III, 115, 313.

¹¹ *Records*, III, 493.

¹² *Ibid.*, 494.

¹³ *Records*, III, 505.

¹⁴ Cf. "A Sermon of Thanksgiving," April 18, 1622, in E. D. Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland* (New York, 1871), pp. 66-67.

¹⁵ *Records*, I, 212.

¹⁶ *Records*, I, 271, also *ibid.*, 253, 259.

¹⁷ Proceedings of August 12, 1622, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 1623 (London, 1932), VI, 310.

¹⁸ *Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston, 1898), 29-36.

¹⁹ *Bradford*, pp. 37-38.

²⁰ *Bradford*, p. 40.

- ²¹ *Records*, IV, 1-2.
²² *Records*, I, 220, 234.
²³ *Records*, I, 268.
²⁴ *Records*, III, 264.
²⁵ Brown, *First Republic*, 443.
²⁶ *Records*, III, 171, 576; I, 607.
²⁷ Cf. *Records*, 76, 91, *passim*.
²⁸ E. D. Neill, *Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland* (New York, 1871), 84-85. The spelling Copeland, used by Peckard in his memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, seems preferable.
²⁹ *Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston, 1898), 476-477, orthography modernized.
ham, Lady Yeardley's nephew, to the north coast to trade a cargo of tobacco for one of fish.
³⁰ *Records*, I, 277. In January, 1620 (N. S.), Yeardley sent Ensign Edmund Rossing-
³¹ *Records*, III, 243.
³² *Minutes*, p. 72.
³³ *Records*, III, 216-219.
³⁴ Cf. *Records*, III, 418-423.
³⁵ *Records*, III, 245.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 253.
³⁷ Cf. William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 53.
³⁸ *Records*, III, 178-189.
³⁹ *Records*, III, 213.
⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 121; *ibid.*, 242.

CHAPTER TWELVE

- ¹ *Records*, III, 245.
² John Nicholas, *The Progresses of King James* (London, 1828), II, 740-741.
³ *Records*, III, 92.
⁴ Cf. W. G. Stanard, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 421.
⁵ *Records*, III, 504.
⁶ *Records*, III, 424-425.
⁷ Cf. Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, *op. cit.*, pp. 565, 615, orthography modernized.
⁸ Cf. *Records*, III, 128.
⁹ *Records*, III, 256.
¹⁰ *History*, "Of Plimoth Plantation," *op. cit.*, pp. 491, 494.
¹¹ *Records*, III, 302.
¹² Arber, *Works*, II, 444; Goodale and Speer, *Chronology of Iron and Steel*.
¹³ *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, p. 132.
¹⁴ *Records*, III, 116. The author has taken the liberty to change "feed," as given in these excellently edited volumes, to seed, which was manifestly intended.
¹⁵ *Records*, III, 661.
¹⁶ *The Reformed Virginian Silk-worm, or a Rare and New Discovery of a speedy way, and easie means, found out by a young Lady in England, she having made full proof thereof in May, Anno 1652: in Force's Tracts*, Vol. III, No. 13, pp. 32, 35.
¹⁷ *Records*, III, 123-124.
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 125-126.
¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 128-129.
²⁰ Cf. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 375.
²¹ *Records*, III, 123-129.

- 22 *Records*, IV, 75.
- 23 *Records*, III, 299.
- 24 *Records*, III, 462-463.
- 25 Michael Drayton: *Works* (London, 1753), Vol. IV, p. 1236. The title page of George Sandys' translation has thereon: OVID'S METAMORPHOSIS, Englished by G. S., Imprinted at London MDCXXVI, Cum Privilegio, 1626.
- 26 *Records*, III, 228.
- 27 Arber, II, 573.
- 28 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, *op. cit.*, XIX, 153.
- 29 *Records*, III, 446.
- 30 *Records*, III, 462.
- 31 Arber, Smith, *Works*, II, 573-574.
- 32 *Bradford's History* "Of Plimoth Plantation," *op. cit.*, p. 150.
- 33 See "Discourse of the Old Company," issued in 1625.
- 34 Arber, Smith's *Works*, II, 575-577.
- 35 *Records*, II, 74.
- 36 W. L. Grant and James Munro (eds.): *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, Vol. I, p. 54 [*James I*, Vol. V, p. 449]. For "note of armes in the Tower for which the Virginia Company are suitors," see *Records*, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 665.
- 37 *Records*, II, 316.
- 38 *Virginia Historical Magazine*, XV, 36.
- 39 Cf. Jennings C. Wise: *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1911), pp. 28-29; see also Brown, *First Republic*, p. 421.
- 40 *Records*, II, 28-29.
- 41 Cf. *Records*, II, 373-374.
- 42 *Works*, Arber, II, 618.
- 43 "Discourse," *op. cit.*, p. 453.
- 44 *Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1619-1658*.
- 45 *Records*, IV, 480-481.
- 46 Cf. Brown, *First Republic*, p. 370.
- 47 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*.
- 48 Cf. John Smith, *Generall Historie, of the Bermudas*, Arber ed., pp. 681, 683.
- 49 *Records*, I, 504.
- 50 Brown, *First Republic*, 380.
- 51 Reprint, *American Historical Review*, XXVII, p. 497. See also *Records of the Virginia Company*, III, 526, 530.
- 52 Smith, *Works*, Arber ed., II, 569.
- 53 Cf. *Bradford's History* "Of Plimoth Plantation" (Boston, 1898), p. 154; see also *John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony*, ed. Champlin Burrage (Boston, 1918), pp. 35-51.
- 54 "Rolfe's Relation," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, V, 404. Cf. Brown, *Genesis*, I, 498, for letter from Alexander Whitaker to the Reverend William Crashaw, August 9, 1611.
- 55 Cf. "Part of a Tractate written at Henrico in Virginia by Master Alexander Whitaker Minister to the Colony there, which [was] then governed by Sir Thomas Dale," in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, *op. cit.*, XIX, 112.
- 56 *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. In this reprint Copeland spells his name as given on p. 42 *supra*.
- 57 *Op. cit.*, II, 411.
- 58 See *Records of Virginia Company*, III, 568. Apparently this was the "Edward Lister" recorded as being one of the four slain at "Master Macocks Dividend."
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 44, *passim*; Brown, *First Republic*, 474.
- 60 *History* "Of Plimoth Plantation," pp. 169-170.

- ⁶¹ Cf. Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 460, 581-582.
⁶² Brown, *First Republic*, p. 459.
⁶³ *Records*, IV, 584.
⁶⁴ "Discourse," *op. cit.*, p. 439.
⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, p. 15.
⁶⁶ Cf. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I, 205.
⁶⁷ Cf. *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924), Court of March 1, 1623 (N. S.), pp. 4-5.
⁶⁸ *Records*, IV, 283-284.
⁶⁹ *Minutes*, pp. 19-20.
⁷⁰ *Court and Council Minutes*, p. 31.
⁷¹ Cf. *Minutes*, p. 53.
⁷² *Minutes*, p. 58.
⁷³ *Minutes*, pp. 71-72.
⁷⁴ Hening's *Statutes*, pp. v-vi.
⁷⁵ Brown, *First Republic*, 582.
⁷⁶ Washington to William Crawford, September 21, 1767; in C. W. Butterfield (ed.): *The Washington-Crawford Letters* (Cincinnati, 1877), p. 3; Ford, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 220.

VIRGINIA VETUSTISSIMA

¹ In Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (Act III, Scene 2), Maria says of Malvolio: "He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies,"—Cf. C. H. Coote in the Hakluyt Society Publications, Series I, Vol. LIX, lxxxv-xcv. "Augmentation" may have referred to Virginia, the term "Indies" being often used as a general expression for the discoveries in the New World.

² In 1597 John Gerard referred to *papas* (potato) roots he had received "from Virginia, otherwise called Norumbega,"—Cf. William E. Safford, "The Potato of Romance and Reality," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, p. 509. This reference indicated that the Elizabethan nomenclature was, in the minds of Englishmen at least, supplanting other continental names, such as Bacallaos, Estotiland, Norumbega, etc.

³ Chapter Head, xviii, *Discourse on Western Planting*, in Charles Deane (ed.), *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series), II, 118.

⁴ Cf. copy in The John Carter Brown Library.

⁵ Cf. *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 283.

⁶ Cf. Brereton, *Briefe and true Relation* (facsimile ed.), pp. 10-11; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 3, Vol. VIII, pp. 92-93.

⁷ Ralph Lane to Hakluyt, September 3, 1585, Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Publications of the Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, Glasgow, 1903-1905), III, 319.

⁸ Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June. 1614* (London, 1615), p. 20.

⁹ Cf. Arthur Wodenoth, *A Short Collection of the Most Remarkable Passages from the Original to the dissolution of the Virginia Company* (London, 1651), p. 2; reference is to copy in the John Carter Brown Library; see also reference to the Pole in Robert Thorne's "Declaration" to Henry VIII, 1527, in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II, 161.

¹⁰ Cf. an early eighteenth century copy of Martin's original patent, now (1942) the property of Mrs. Robert Daniel and on loan to the Virginia State Library.

APPENDIX

MEMBERSHIP IN THE VIRGINIA-LONDON COMPANY UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1609

The following list presents membership in the Company by family names, many of which are represented by descendants throughout the wide expanse of the English-speaking world. The original list was arranged according to respective rankings in the British realm of 1609; but since in post-Revolutionary America the surname is most important, the family names are given alphabetically, or in the way easiest for reference. For example, instead of starting the list with Earls, Lords and Knights, nobles and commoners are grouped. The family name of *Cecil* includes the Earls of Salisbury and Exeter; *Herbert*, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery; while *West* includes not only Lord Delaware, but also his non-titled brothers, who were active participants in the Virginia enterprise. Spelling of the surnames conforms to modern usage rather than to that of the seventeenth century.

Alcock, Allen, Andrews, Anthony, Archer, Ashley, Ashton, Askew, Atkinson, Aucher, Bache, Bacon, Badger, Baker, Banister, Banks, Barber, Bardwell, Barnars, Barnes, Baron, Bateman, Bathurst, Bayley, Beale, Beedel, Bennett, Benson, Bents, Berkeley, Berrisford, Bingham, Bingley, Bishop, Bludder, Blundell, Blunt, Bolles, Bond, Bonham, Bourne, Bowyer, Brearley, Bree, Brewster, Brinsley, Britain, Brocket, Brooke, Brooker, Brown, Brudenell, Bullock, Burgoyne, Burlacie, Burnley, Burnham, Burton, Burwell, Busbridge, Busby, Butler, Button, Cage, Calvert, Camp, Campbell, Canning, Cannon, Contrell, Careles, Carew, Carey, Carpenter, Carril, Carter, Cartwright, Cason, Caswell, Cator, Cavady, Cecil, Challoner, Chamberlayne, Champion, Chandler, Chatfield, Cheeke, Chening, Chicheley, Chiles, Church, Clapham, Clarke, Clauday, Cleave, Cline, Clinton, Clitheroe, Cocke, Coke, Coitmore, Collins, Colthurst, Compton, Comock, Conway, Cooper, Cope, Coppin, Cornelius, Cotton, Courtney, Covell, Cox, Coyse, Crashaw, Croft, Cromwell, Crosby, Culpeper, Cutler, Danby, Davis, Dawes,

Dawkes, Dear, Dequester, Dennis, Dexter, Digby, Digges, Dike, Dingley, Ditchfield, Dobson, Draper, Drausfield, Druerdent, Drury, Duppa, Dunn, Durette, Etheridge, Eldred, Elkin, Ellis, Evelyn, Evans, Everard, Eure, Ewens, Exton, Facet, Farmer, Farrington, Faushawe, Felgate, Ferrar, Field, Fleetwood, Fletcher, Forest, Fox, Francis, Franklin, Freake, Freeman, Frith, Fryer, Gall, Gardiner, Gates, Gearing, Gerrard, Gibbs, Gilbert, Glanvil, Goddart, Godwin, Godolphin, Gooze, Gosnold, Grave, Green, Grey, Gryce, Gypes, Hackluyt, Hamer, Hamersley, Hampson, Hamond, Hancock, Hankinson, Hansford, Harlow, Harper, Harris, Harrison, Harwell, Harwood, Haselrig, Hawkins, Hayden, Hayward, Haywood, Heele, Herbert, Hicks, Hide, Hill, Hinchshaw, Hinson, Hinton, Hobart, Hodges, Hodgson, Holcroft, Holles, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, Holt, Hore, Howard, Howle, Humble, Hunt, Huntley, Ironsides, Isaac, Jackson, Jacobson, James, Jennings, John, Jones, Joshua, Juxon, Kelke, Keneridgburg, Kerril, Ketley, Kettleby, Killigrew, King, Kirton, Knowles, Langton, Latham, Lawson, Lee, Let, Lever, Levet, Llewellyn, Lewis, Lindsey, Littlefield, Lodge, Lovelace, Low, Lukin, Lulls, Mallory, Mand, Mansell, Manwood, Mapes, Maplesden, March, Martin, Mason, Mawbet, Mayle, Meadows, Merrick, Mewtis, Meycot, Michelborn, Middleton, Mildmay, Mills, Mitchel, Monger, Monson, Montague, Montford, Moore, Moreton, Morgan, Morris, Moulsoe, Mounsel, Mountain, Mowse, Nevil, Newbridge, Newce, Newhouse, Newport, Nicholls, Nornicot, Offley, Ogle, Orwell, Oxenbridge, Pagnam, Palmer, Panton, Parker, Parkhurst, Parslow, Partridge, Pashall, Payne, Pearse, Peate, Pennington, Percival, Percy, Perkins, Pet, Petre, Peyton, Phettiplace, Phips, Pickford, Pigot, Pitt, Pleydall, Plummer, Poe, Pole, Pomet, Pory, Powell, Pratt, Preston, Pretty, Price, Proctor, Proude, Prusey, Quarles, Quick, Ramsden, Ratcliffe, Reynolds, Rich, Riddlesdon, Ridgway, Roberts, Robins, Robinson, Roe, Rogers, Romney, Rookwood, Russel, Sackville, Salmon, Salter, Sambach, Sands, Scarpe, Scott, Scrivener, Seabright, Seckford, Seyer, Shackley, Sharpe, Sheffield, Shelley, Shelton, Shepherd, Shipley, Shipton, Sicklemore, Singleton, Skelton, Slingsby, Smith, Snead, Soame, Somers, Sondes, Southerne, Southwick, Sparks, Sparrow, Spencer, Spranger, Springham, Sprinson, Spry, St. John, Stafford, Stallenge, Stanhope, Stannard, Staper, Stile, Strachey, Streate, Strongarm, Stocken, Stoke, Stokeley, Sutcliffe, Sutton, Swift, Swinhow, Sydney, Tanner, Tate, Taverner, Taylor, Thomas, Thorne, Thornton, Towler, Townsend, Trevor, Truston, Tucker, Turner, Tyrrel, Vassal, Vaughan, Venn, Vere, Vertue, Vincent, Wade, Waldoe, Walker, Waller, Waterhouse, Watson, Wattey, Watts, Waynam, Webb, Webster, Welby,

Welch, Weld, Wells, West, Westraw, Westwood, Wetwood, Waysman, Wharton, Wheeler, Whistler, White, Whiteley, Whitmore, Whittingham, Widdowes, Wiffin, Wigmore, Wilkes, Willeston, Williamson, Wilmer, Wilmot, Wilson, Winch, Wingfield, Winter, Wirral, Wolley, Wolstenholme, Wood, Woodall, Woodhouse, Woodliffe, Wooller, Wright, Wriothsley, Wroth, Wyatt, Wynne, Yeardley, Yeomans, Young, Zouch.

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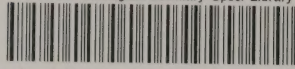
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